

THE
TRAVELLERS
BREVIAIT,

OR

An historiall description of the
most famous kingdomes
in the World:

Relating their situations, manners, cu-
stomes, ciuill gouernment, and
other memor able
matters.

Translated into English.



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for John Laggard.

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TO THE RIGHT
HONORABLE EDWARD
EARLE of Worcester, LORD of
Chepstoll, Ragland and Gower, Knight
of the most noble order of the Garter,
and Master of the Horse to the
*Queenes most excellent
Maiestie.*

RIGHT HONORABLE,



Auing with an vnskilful hand
taught this booke to speake
English, I thought that I
should be like an euill player
marring the last act of the
tragedie, or a carelesse pilot
drowning the shipp in the ha-
uen, if I ventured it to the di-
uers censures of men, before
it were entrusted to the pa-
tronage of some such authoritie, as might restraine and
binde the ouerflowings of other mens more hard op-
inion. For although the worthines of the subiect might
wooke in me an ouerweening hope of his kinde enter-
tainment; yet I cannot satisfie my selfe, vnlesse it passe
vnder the titele & protection of some one, whose fauour
may (like the verticall sunne) abate all shadowes, either of
envy or disgrace, which are in this (still woorse & woorse)
age of the world readie to discountenance the fruites of
any mans labour. Wherfore considering with my selfe,
where to bestowit, I was emboldened by the inducement
of

of divers reasons to presume on your Lordship, ascertaining my selfe, that the honorable vertues, which haue wound you into the liking of all men, haue setled so good an impression, as is forcible ynoch to make that feeme commendable, which is graced by your Honors name onely. And for this respect amongst infinite others here for speciall reasons silenced, in hope of fauorable acception, I most humbly present it to your Honor, challenging to my selfe nothing but the imperfections in the harsh composure, and conuiance of the stile, retaining yet(as I trust) the former strength and substance. If your L. vouchsafe to receive it, it may be that (although in the perusal it cannot enforme your Honor any thing, which you were ignorant of) yet it may confirme that, which otherwise your Honor doubted; or make it cleerer by deliuering the circumstances in more particular termes. Onely thus much (vnder leauue of a better iudgement) I dare say, that there is no booke extant touching the same argument, which can æqualize it, either for soundnes in iudiciall censuring; truth in sincerely relating; or compendiousnes in briefing such varietie of matter to so small a volume. And here although I could according to the vsuall forme of epistles indeuor a draught of your most honorable praises; yet knowing, that it is but tediousnes, where vertue is loued for the onely inner contentment, I put a period to these lines, and most humbly crauing pardon take leauue.

*Your Honors devoted
in all humble seruiceablenes,*

I. R.



A generall description of the *World*.

S touching the description, division and inhabitation of the partes of the earth most commonly described in vniversall maps, you shall vnderstand that the ancient Cosinographers, not knowing then the West Indies, nor many other places situated both northward and southward, and fithence discouered, diuided the whole earth into three partes, Europe, Asia and Afrike, and the world into fие zones, two cold, two temperate, and one extreme hot, affirming three of those zones to be vnhabitable, the one for extremitie of heate, the other two for extremitie of cold: but because a new and whole world hath been found out since those times, our moderne Cosinographers haue added a fourth part called America; so called from *Americus Vespuccius* a Florentine, which did first discouer it; which againe is subdivided by our later trauellers into three partes, viz. Mexicana, Peruana, and Magellanica, hauing found by good experience (as in this discourse shall be fully manifested) that these three partes are well inhabited and woonderfully replenished with people of sundry languages. Of all these fife partes because Europe is far lesse then all the rest, and yet exceedeth all others in noblenes, magnificence, multitude of people, in might, puissance and renowne, we will first begin with the description thereof. It is bounded on the North with the north Ocean sea, on the South with the Mediterranean, on the East with the flood Tanais, & on the West with the West Ocean. In measuring with a right line from the

furthest part of Ireland on the West vnto the flood Tanais on the East, both places hauing 52.deg.of latitude, hath in longitude 2166.miles, and in measuring with a right line from the furthest part of Morea on the South, whose latitude is 35.degrees vnto the North side hauing 72.degrees of latitude, hath in latitude 2220.miles. It containeth more then 28.Christian kingdoms, at this day as far excelling the residue of the provinces in religion, artes, valour and ciuitie, as in elder age it did surpasie them in power and reputation. The principall prouinces are Spaine, France, Germanie, Italie, Slauonia, Greece, Hungarie, Poland, Lithuania, Moscouia, and that toward the North called Scandia, wherein are Denmarke, Norway, Swethland, and Gutland. The Islands are Brittaine, containing the kingdoms of England and Scotland, and Ireland, in the North Ocean: in the Mediterranean are Sicill, Candie, Corsica, Sardina, Maiorica, Minorica, Nigropont, Malta, Corfu, Stalamine, Mitilin, Sciro, & many other in the Archipelago. The aire is passing good, holsoine, temperate, and the soile exceeding fertill. Therein are many goodly cities, famous mart townes, and learned vniuersities. The people haue in all ages excelled all other nations in courage, artes, sharpnes of wit, and all other gifts of nature. In times past it commanded Asia and Afrike by the armes of the Greekes and Romaines, and at this day it is of great force by the power of the Turks and Moscouites, and by the navigations of the Spaniards and Portugals: so as it seemeth that nature hath created this people fit to rule and governe others, as men far surpassing all other nations in wisedome, courage and industrie.

Next vnto Europe succeedeth Asia, renowned by writers for the second part of the world, in regard of the monarchies of the Persians, Medes, Assirians and Babylonians: but indeed most celebrated in holy writ for our creation, fall, and redemption, as the region wherein in a manner all the histories and acts mentioned in the old testament, and a great part of those in the new, were wrought and accomplished. It is boünded on the North with the North Ocean, on the South with the red sea, with diuers other gulfes and seas appearing in our moderne maps: on the East with the East Indian Ocean,

cean, and the streight of Anian. On the West it hath the flood Tanais, and the fenne Meotis, with diuers other seas, as Bosphorus Cimnereus, Mare Euxinum, the Bosphorus Thracius, Propontis, part of the Mediterranean, and part of the red sea or gulfe of Arabia, which diuideth Afrike from Arabia felix. In measuring with a right line from the flood Tanais to the promontorie Tamos, both places hauing 50. degrees of latitude, hath in longitude 4284. miles, and in measuring with a right line from the 150. degree of the Equinoctiall vnto the promontorie Tabin, it hath in North latitude 76. degrees, which being multiplied by 60. maketh 4560. miles. The Ancients diuided it into diuers parts, but at this present it is best diuided into fve, according to the chiefe and principall empires therein : the first whereof confining with Europe is gouerned by the great Duke of Moscouie, the second belongeth to the great Cham, the third is commanded by the Turke, the fourth is the kingdome of Persia, the fift comprehendeth that which hath alwaies been called India and gouerned by diuers princes for the most part vassals, feodaries or tributaries to other kingdoms. The principall Islands are Iapan, Luconia, Mindanao, Burneo, Sumatra, Zeilan and Cipres : Gilolo, the Moluccæ, Banda and Celebes belong to Magelanica.

Afrike is bounded on the North with the streight of Gibraltar and the Mediterranean sea, on the south with a sea which diuideth Afrike from the South lande not yet fully knownen, and on the East with the red sea : on the West with the great Atlantike Ocean. In measuring with a right line from Gambra on the West vnto the Cape Guardafu on the East, both places hauing tenne degrees of north latitude or thereabout, hath in longitude 4155. miles : and in measuring with a right line from the 50. degree of the \textcircumflex Equinoctiall vnto the Mediterranean sea ; it hath in North latitude 32. degrees, which being multiplied by 60. maketh 1920. miles. In South latitude measuring with a right line from the 50. degree of the \textcircumflex Equinoctiall to the Cape of Good Hope, it hath 35. degrees, which being multiplied by 60. maketh 2100. miles. By the Ancients it hath been diuided into many parts, but at this day into eight, Egypt, Barbary, Biledulgarid, Sarra, Ethiopia, B 2 Nubia,

4 The kingdome of France.

Nubia, the large prouinces of the Abassines and Monomotapa. Of whose riches, lawes, customes, natures and forces you shall reade hereafter in their severall places. The chiefe Ilands are Socotora, Madagascar, S. Thomas, Capo Verd, and the Iles of Canarie and Madera.

Mexicana is on al sides enuironed with the sea, sauing that nigh vnto Nombre de Dios it is ioined by a necke of land to Peruana. The chiefe prouinces are Noua Hispania, Florida, Norumbega, Noua Francia, Estotiland, and many others. The chiefest Iles lying on the North and Northeast part are Groinland, Crokland, Illand, Freeland, Bacalaos and Cuba.

Peruana is also enuironed on all sides with the sea, saue whereas the foresaide Land-streight doth ioine the same to Mexicana. The chiefe prouinces are Brasil, Tisnada, Caribana, Carthagena, Peru, Charchas, Chili, Chicam, and the land of the Patagones. The most renowned Iles are Hispaniola, Bori-
quen and Margarita.

This sixt part of the world as yet is but little knownen, notwithstanding it is thought to containe many large prouinces, amongst the which Beach is supposed to be very rich and abounding in gold. The chiefe Iles are Iaua maior and Iaua minor, Timor, Banda, the Moluccos, Romeros and the Iles of Solomon. Thus much in generall, now of the particulars.

The kingdome of France.

THE kingdome of France hath for his bounds the Alpes, which diuide it from Italie, the Rhodanus which separates it from Sauoye; Sagona, which parts it from the Sebusiani, and Burgundians: and the riuers Mosell, which diuides it from Lorraine and the Dutchie of Luecemburge. It hath on the East the riuers Aa; on the South, the Mediterranean sea, and the Pyrenean mountaines; on the West, the great Ocean; and on the North, the English Ocean. It contayneth from Lorraine on the South side to Caleis on the North side, two hundred French

The kingdom of France. 5

French leagues, and little lesse from East to West from the riuer Varo to Paurus. The nearer the North the narrower it is, & narrowest betweene Caleis and the Brittish promontorie. The figure thereof is betweene round and square, and therefore bigger then a man would take it. It contayneth most large Prouinces, as Picardie, Normandie, Brittaine, the Isle of France, Champaigne, Burgundie, Auerne, Dalphenye, Prouince, Bry, Blois, Turin, the Dutchie of Aniou, Zantoin, Burdeaux, and many others. The beginning thereof standeth in fortie two degrees, and inioyeth such diuersitie of aire, that, that part which lieth toward the Mediterranean sea (where stands Languedoc and Prouince) bringeth foorth all sortes of fruits like Italie; that which is towards the English Ocean (where stands Brittaine, Normandie, and part of Picardie) bringeth foorth no wine; the residue of the kingdome aboundeth aboue belefte with all kindes of fruits which Europe affoordeth, except Oliues, figs, and such like. The gentlenes of the aire, with the fertilitie of the ground, and the situation of the riuers is so propitious and naturall for the increase of fruit, and euerie other liuing creature, that France aboue all the other Regions of Europe may best boast of these prerogatiues. Betweene the mountaines of Auerne, Dalphenie, and the Mediterranean sea, the aire is so temperate by reason of the coldnes of the hils (alwaies almost couered with snow) and the gentle blasts comming from the sea, that a man being in this place, would thinke he were vnder the climate wherein Genua is seated. And againe, the Pyrenean hils standing as a bulwarke to breake and beat backe the fiercenes of cold and tempests, giue the like moderation to another quarter of the countrey. These mountaines are full of bathes and veines of warme water; and the northern windes, which according to most opinions make the aire cold, are not heere so cold as in other places. For windes partake of the nature of the place by which they passe: if by snowie mountaines, then bring they with them the cold of those mountaines; if by marshes, contagion; if by woods, they are broken; if by landie plaines, they are warme; if by lakes or seas, they are sharpe and cold. Hence commeth it that the windes Panormi in Sicill

Sicill are extreme hot; for before they pierce thither, they scour thorow the plaines of Sicill, and taking heat from the sands, carrie it into the citie. The south winde is cold at Genua because it passeth the sea, and taketh coldnes thereof without touching the lande before it arriue. But the north winde which bloweth thorough France, commeth from the sea, and taking some measure of heat of the saltnes thereof, and finding no mountaines couered with yce or snow in his passage, augmenteth his heat by passing ouer the fields of Normandie, Champaigne, the Ile of France, and other prouinces, euen to the hils of Auvergne: which being moderately heated by the south winde on the one side, and the north wind on the other, bringeth foorth euerie where excellent pastures, and feedings for cattell and sheepe, besides diuers sorts of medicinable plants and most perfect simples. Amongst many branches of those mountaines, there is one which is called the Golden-hill for the noblenes of the simples and abundance thereof. Of these experiments England may be a sufficient prooфе, which although it lye more northerly then France, yet because it hath few mountaines, and is enuironed on euerie side with the sea, the aire is verie milde and temperate euen there, yea much more temperate then France, which is farther distant from the Pole: as you may perceiue by the vines which neuer ripen in England, and yet yeld most perfect wines in France. Likewise it happeneth verie often that the northren or western winde rising from the sea, bringeth springtide in the winter season, decking the fields with flowers, and the gardens with herbes, that the inhabitants of Turon, Poictou, and the Ile of France, enjoy as forward a sommer, as those of Prouince or Lago di Garda.

The whole lande of France is fertill and fruitfull, and euerie where plentifull of all good things. And as the Apennine spreading almost ouer the fourth part of Italy, for the most part is barren, & yeeldeth small store of fruit; so on the contrary in the mountaines of Auvergne (being but few) stand many good townes and rich places where cloathing is exercised, and from whence a good part of the kingdome is serued with flesh, butter, and excellent cheeſe: the rest of the kingdome almost

almost is plaine, heere and there garnished with fruitfull hils and greene valleies: in euerie place plentie doth (as it were) contend with varietie, fertilite with delicate, commodiousnes of situation with beautious cities. Herein without all controuersie Italie giueth place to France: for although some one corner thereof affoordeth exquisite pleasure and delightfull situation, as Riuera di Salo, Campania, the territorie of Crotton, Tarentum, and some other cities of Calabria: yet these are singular and few in Italy, common and frequent in France, especially in Burgundie, Brie, the Isle of France, Turon, Aniou, Zantoin, and Languedoc: in each of which prouinces it should seeme that nature her selfe hath diuided, and as it were dedicated by allotment some places to *Ceres*, some to *Bacchus*, some to *Pomona*, and some to *Pallas*.

But there is nothing in France more worthie the noting then the number and pleasure of the nauigable riuers, whereof some (as it were) gird in the whole realme, as Sagona, Rhodanus, Mosell. Some others cut thorough the middle, as Sequano, Loire, Garonne. Into these three riuers fall so many other riuers; some from the vttermost bounds; some from the inmost parts of the realme, that it maketh the whole countrey commodious for trafique and exchange of each others wants: insomuch that by this facilitie of carriage & entercourse of merchandize, all things may be saide to be in common to the inhabitants of this kingdome. In Aniou onely are fortie riuers, great and small; whereupon *Katherin de Medicis* was woont to say, that this kingdome contained more riuers then all Europe beside. Truely this was a Hyperbolicall speech, yet not much more then truth; for the goodnes of the soile, and easie transporting of commodities, is the cause that there are so many cities and so many townes, and those most commonly seated vpon the bankes of the riuers. And although it haue many goodly hauens, yet the vpland townes are fairer and richer, then those that stand neerer the sea: which argueth that their wealth is their owne, and not brought from forreine countries: for there the sea townes excell the land townes, where more benefit and prouision is reaped by the sea, then by the land, as Genua, Venice, Ragusi: but

but where the state and prosperitie of cities dependeth wholy vpon the land, there the vplandish townes far surpassee the sea townes, as Millaine, and many other in Flanders, Germanie, and Hungarie. All this notwithstanding although like goodnes of toile be proper to the whole realine of France, as likewise the situation of the riuers commodious, yet, Paris except, whose largenes proceedeth from the kings court, the parliaments, and the vniuersitie, the townes there for the most part are but small and meane, beautifull, commodious, and verie populous. *John Bodin* writing a description thereof in the time of *Henrie* the second saith, that there were seuen and twentie thousand villages hauing parish Churches, not comprehending Burgundie among them. In another description written in the raigne of *Charles* the ninth, it is saide, that the number of the inhabitants exceeded fifteene millions.

And as the cities and townes of France may boast of their riuers, so the Castles and villages of the noblemen, are no lesse fauoured with the pleasure and strength of lakes and marishes, which although they may not be compared to the lakes of Italy and Swizerland, yet are they so many, and so full of excellent fish, that the numbers of the one may equallize the largenes of the others. The same may be spoken of woods, that they are not so spacious as plentifull: out of these woods in times past the greatest part of the kings reuenues did arise, and the noblemen do make great profite by selling great quantities thereof for firewood, but greater, by sales of timber trees: for, for want of stone, the greatest part of their buildings consist of timber.

In regard of the commodious situation of these riuers seruynge so fitly for the transporation of vittales from one place to another, this kingdome is so abundantly furnished with all plentie of prouision, that it is a ble to nourish any armie in the fieldes how populous soeuer. When *Charles* the fift entred France, first by Prouince, and afterward by Champagne, it maintained more then one hundred & fiftie thousand soldiers, besides garrisons. In the raigne of *Charles* the ninth, and in our times also, there were maintained in this kingdome

kingdome 20000. horse, 30000. footemen strangers, and of French 15000. horse, and 100. thousand footemen, neither did the kingdome for this feele want or scarcitie.

There are in France (as a man may terme them) fower loadstones to draw riches from forreine nations; corne caried into Spaine and Portugall; wines transported into England, Flanders, and the inhabitants of the Balticke sea; and salt wherewith the whole kingdome & the bordering nations are plentifully stored. This salt is made in Prouince of the saltwater of the Mediterranean sea, and at Bayon in Zantoine, where the heate of the sunne ceaseth his vertue of getting, making and boiling salt (of sea water) not daining to yeeld so great a fauour any farther northward. I said of seawater, because further north there may be salt found also, but is made either of some speciall spring water, as in Lorraine, or compound of some minerals mixt with fresh waters, as in Poland, England, and Germanie, or else it is taken foorth of some salt mines: and such in times past were in Sweueland; but they are now deaced. The fourth loadstone is canuasse and linnen cloth, whereof what profit ariseth, a man will hardly beleue, ymlesle he hath scene what abundance thereof is carried into Spaine and Portugall, to make sailes and cordage for the furnishing of shipping. There growes also Woad, Saffron, and other merchandize of sinaller value, which though they equallize not the abouesaid commodities, yet rise they to a round summe, yea such as may enrich a kingdome. By reason of these never-dying riches, Lewes the eleuenth was woon to say, that France was a continuall flourishing meadow, which he did mowe as often as he list: And Maximilian the Emperour termed the French king to be *pastorem ouium, cum vellereibus aureis*, which he sheared at his pleasure. It is vndoubtedly true, that if the kings of France were as wise and politike, as they are powerfull in armes and riches, the affaires of Europe would much stand at their deuotion. But force and wisedome seldoine keepe companie: therefore the Poets fained *Her-cules* furious: Ariosto fained *Orlando* fottish: Virgill describeth *Dares* to be insolent: and the Gracians termed all those people *Barbari* which wanted arts and learning: Homer brin-

geth in *Achilles* as one vnable to bridle his owne furie: and *Mars* so vnauided, that he suffered himselfe vnawares to be caught in *Vulcans* net. For what state can be more dreadfull, or what power can seeme more terrible, then the maiestic of that kingdome, which is able of it selfe to feede fifteene thousand millions of people, and yet hath sufficient remaining for the nourishing and maintenance of any puissant armie besides? For the abundance of people and plenty of vittailes are the strongest sinewes of all kingdomes, and therefore the Romaines highly prized the rulicke diuision for their numbers and prouision.

As touching their reuuenues, *Lewes* the eleuenth gathered a million & an halfe: *Francis* the first attained vnto three millions: *Henry* the second to sixe: *Charles* the ninth to seauen: *Henrie* the third aboue tenne: *Lewes* the twelfth left his kingdome full of golde and siluer, and therefore was called *Pater populi*: *Francis* the first, though he managed great wars, and made infinite expences, left notwithstanding eight hundred thousand crownes in his treasurie: but *Henry* the second his sonne, enuying the greatnes of *Charles* the Emperour, and coueting to surpassee him, tooke vp money of euery one at 16. *per centum*, left his sonnes indebted 30. millions of crownes, and without credite amongst the merchants to the value of a farthing: insomuch that *Charles* the ninth and *Henry* the third his sonnes (the last more then the first) were inforced to laine heauie impositions, not onely on the people, but also on the clergie. Whereby the world may see, that the riches of a prince consist not in the abundance of reuuenues, but in the good gouernment thereof; for *Francis* the first made greater warres with lesse reuuenues, left his credite sound with the merchants, and readie money to his sonne; where on the contrarie *Henry* made farre lesse warre, and yet left the kingdome deeplye indebted, and the people poore and miserable.

With the foresaid reuuenues the former kings maintained 1500. *Lanciers*, & 4500. *crosbowes* (in report 4000. *Lanciers* and 6000. *crosbowes* continually paide:) which troupes of horse were accounted the strongest in all Christendome. *Euerie Lancier* brought with him one *crosbowe* and an halfe, so that

that one companie of Lanciers had another of crosbowes; seruing both vnder one ensigne, commonly called a Guidon: and one captaine gouerned both companies, consisting in the whole of 100. Lanciers, and 150. crosbowes.

One million and three hundred thousand crownes were yeerely spent vpon these companies. A Lance received 250. crownes, a crosbowe eightie, the Guidon 300. the Lieutenant 380. the Captaine 820. *Charles* the seventh reduced these ordinances to perfection, made the number certaine, appoyned their wages, trained them in exercise, and placed them vpon the frontiers vnder captaines, lieutenants, ensignes and Guidons. He likewise deuided these ordinances into men at armes and archers, adioined to them Targatiers, Harbengers, Muster-masters, Pay-masters, and Commissaries, committing them to the charge and gouernment of the Constable, Marshall, and greatest Lords of his kingdome: they did not much inure their naturall subiects to serue on foote, for feare of mutinies and rebellions: but *Charles* the eight considering how necessarie footemen were, instituted a squadron of fve thousand French foote: that number *Francis* the first augmented to fiftie thousand: howbeit at this day they are easheerd for their euill carriage and behauour. *Lewes* the eleuenth that at his pleasure he might sheare or rather fleece the people of France, and make them vnapt for seruice, waged the Swissers: which example *Francis* and *Henry* his successors following, continually hired great number of Germanes. But whofoeuer he be, that goeth about to make his people vnwarlike, and entertaineth forreine soldiers, greatly overshooteth himselfe. For by the exercise of armes and the occurrences of warres, courage is increased, and the commons by practise and experience will become hardy, and vpon occasions of necessitie able like soldiers to maintaine their actions: for as conuering with good men makes men good; so the company of soldiers makes others couragious. Besides, many occurrences may happen, which may not be committed to the experience of strangers, because they know not the situation of places, neither may many matters, for the weight of the busines, be trusted to their fidelitie. Wherefore it is very expedient,

that that people be entertained vnder military discipline, in whose prouinces warre is like to continue, either by reason of situation, or other casuall accidents: as it happened to France, where after peace was concluded with the Spaniard, and the Swiess & Almaines departed to their owne hounes, yet by remaining full of French soldiers all things were turned vpside downe.

As concerning munitions, there is no kingdome wherein is greater plentie then there; whereof are many: one, for that whereas the kingdome is deuided into many regalities and principalities, as Burgundie, Britaine, Aniou and Normandy; every one of these strengtheneth his frontiers: besides, the plentie of their munitions hath beene increased by the warre of the English, which commanded a great part of France. Secondly, the scituacion and nature of the places fit for fortifications, as also the willingnes and readines of the people, hath euен with ease ouercome the labour of these affaires. For there is no nation more industrious in fortifying, and more prodigall in expence vpon these workes: neither are the bowels of the kingdome lesse fortified then the frontiers, Beauois, Trois, Orleans, Angiers, Bourdeaux, Lymosin, San Florum, Carcassona, Soissons, are not inferior to Calais, Perone, Narbone, or other the frontiers, in strength and fortification; so that euery part thereof may stand in stead of a frontier to any border of the whole kingdome.

The kingdome of England.

Amongst all the Ilands of Europe, England (which the ancient called *Britannia*) without all controuersie for circuit and power challengeth the chiefeſt prerogatiue. It containeth in circuit 1800. miles, diuided into two kingdomes, England and Scotland. The naturall strength of Scotland (being barren, full of mountaines, lakes, and woods) is the cheefest cause of this diuision; in ſo much that the armies of the Romaines could neuer bring it wholy in ſubiection; the Emperor *Severus* lost there a great part of his arme. The kings of England, though they farre excell them

them in strengthes, and haue overthrown them in many batailles, could never bring them vnder their iurisdiction. The lakes, the woods, and the marrishes (which euen in plaines make great pooles) being vnto them a naturall wall & trench against all incursions. On the tops of mountaines are manie fruitfull plaines, plentifull and fit for the feeding of cattle, and thicke woods full of wilde beasts: These rockie and mountaineous places abounding notwithstanding with woods and pastures, doe so strengthen the countrey, that they neither feare to be forced by iuasion, nor to be constrained with hunger: for the dangerous accesse of the mountaines, and the thicknes of the woods, secureth them against the assaults of their enemis; and in besiegings they doe sustaine themselves by cattle and wilde beasts, which can never faile them. To this helpeth the abundance of people, fierce of courage, & excellent in the use of their armes: for necessities sake being able speedily to assemble 25. or 30. thousand men against the inodes of their enemis; and trusting to the strenght of situations of places and practise of their armes, they indeuour not to fortifie their cities, nor hauens, whiche are so thicke in this countrey, that by reason of the inlets of the sea, there is not almost one houle distant aboue twentie miles from the Ocean. The king of Scotland gouerneth the Hebrides, being fortie two, and the Orchades thirtie two in number. But since, neither Scotland nor the saide Ilands, are better stored with plenty of corne, more then sufficeth for their owne provision, and the people are neither given to armes, or abounding in wealth, few merchants do resort thither. But England, whereof we now treat, is diuided into three great prouinces: England, Cornwall, and Wales. England stretcheth to the Germanie sea: Cornwall is right against France: Wales against Ireland. This most florishing kingdome containeth two Archibishopricks, Canterbury and Yorke, 24. bishopricks, & 136. walled townes. In the reigne of king Henry and his son Edward, there were reckoned fortie thousand parishes, but 40000. parish now there are lonely 9725. Cornwall & Wales in comparison of England are barren, & in the upland places the people liue upon white meates and oaten bread; especially in Wales; yet bath.

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hach nature placed an Island commonly called Anglesey so neare vnto it, abounding with corke and cattle, that it may woorthily be called the mother of Wales. Cornwall is exceeding rich in mines of Tinne and Lead. England farre surpasseth bothe these prouinces in largenes, riches, and fertilitie: and though it stand somewhat more northerly, notwithstanding by the benefite of the sea, or some vnowne influence of the starres, the aire there is so gentle and temperate, rather thicke and moist, then sharpe and colde, that in token thereof, the bay tree and the rosemary are alwaies greene. And it is most certaine, that Flanders and Brabant are more vexed with cold and ice then England: wherein for the most part the land is plaine; yet now and then so garnished with fruitfull and delightfull hilles, and those rising so pleasantly by little and little, that they which see them a farre off, can scant discerne them from the plaine. The cheefest prouision of the kingdome is corne, cattle and fish, so stored therewith for plenty, goodnes, and sweetnes, that it needeth neither the helpe of France, no nor of any neighbour bordring countrey. Among other things the flesh especially of their swine, oxen, and veales haue the best relish of any pate of Christendome, and of fish their Pike and Oysters. It bringeth not foorth Mules nor Asses, but of horse infinite store. The wealth thereof consisteth in never decaying mines of tinne and lead: there are also found veines of copper and iron, and in Cornewall is digged tynne of such excellent finenes, that it seemeth little inferiour to silver in qualitie. Heere the wools are most fine, by reason of the hils, whereof the kingdome is full. On these hils groweth a small and tender kinde of grasse, neither dunged, nor watered with spring nor riuier, but in winter nourished with the moisture of the aire, and in sommer with the dew of heauen, which is so gratefull and pleasing to the steepe, that it causeth them to beare fleeces of singular goodnes and exceeding finenes. The Island breedeth no wolves nor any other rauening beasts, and therefore their flockes wander night and day by hils, dales, and fields, as well inclosed as common, without feare or danger. Most delicate clothes are wouned of this wooll, which are transported in great abundance into Germanie,

Germanie, Poland, Denmarke, Swēueland, and other provinces, where they are in high request. There grow all sorts of pulse, great store of Saffron, and infinite quantite of beere transported from thence into Belgia, as also pelts and sea-coale. The Iland is so commodiouly seated for the sea, that it is never without resort of Portugall, Spanish, French, Flemish, and Easterling merchants. The trafique betwene the English and the Flemish ariseth to an inestimable value: for *Guicciardini* writeth, that before the tumults of the Low-countries they bartered for twelve millions of crownes yeerely.

There are other Islands subiect to the crowne of England, as Ireland, Wight, Man and Anglesey, the ancient dwelling of the *Druides*, *Syllyes*, *Gernsey*, *Jersey* and *Alderney*.

Ireland is not much lesse then England in bignes, for it is three hundred miles long, and ninetie broad, mountainous, woodie, full of bogs, apter for pasture then corne, and abounding with milke and butter. It sendeth foorth great store of butter, skinnes and saffron. It is full of riuers and lakes abounding with fish. It hath two Arthbischoprickes, Armagh and Cashel: the chiefe seat is Dublin, and that part which lieth towards the East and the south is best peopled. The provinces of Ulster, Conaught and Mounster situated to the west and north, are less fruitfull, and more sauage. The other three Islands are about one bignes: of them Anglesey is the best, and therefore called the mother of Wales: it is well replenished with cattell and plentie of corne. Man is fwe and twentie miles distant from England: it hath one Bishopricke and two bauens: the land is not verie fertill.

Wight is a hilly countrey: in it is Newport a towne strongly fortifyed: it incloseth the whole channell of Southampton, which is ouer against it, and the fairest bauen in that sea.

In strength of situation no kingdome excelleth England: for it hath these two properties, which *Aristoteles* will eth in the building of a citie: one is, that it be difficult to besiege: the other, that it be easie to conuey in and out all things necessary: these two commodities hath England by the sea, which to the inhabitantes is as a deepe trench against hostile invasions,

uasions ; and an easie passage to take in or sende out all commodities whatsoeuer. On the west is the Irish Ocean, a sea so shallow and so full of rockes & flats, that it is verie dangerous for great ships, and on the south the flowing and ebbing of the Brittish Ocean is so violent, and the remouing of sandes and shelues so vncertaine, that vntill the mariners be skilfull in taking the opportunities of wind and tydes, they can hardly bring in their ships in safetie. The sea coast is on euerie side cliffe and inaccessible, except in some certaine places which are strongly fortified, as Barwicke, Douer, Dartmouth, Plymmouth, Falmouth, Bristow, Milford, &c. so that the whole Iland may be taken for one impregnabla castell or Bulwarke.

To this strenght of situation may be ioyned their sea and lande forces. As touching their sea-forces (besides the Nauie Royall) the kingdome hath so many faire havens, and those so frequented with merchants, that two thousand ships are reported to trafique there. So this as it may, it is vndoubtedly true, that vpon necessarie they are able to put to sea aboue fower hundred ships. *Edward* the third at the siege of Caleis, and *Henrie* the eight at the siege of Bullen, waifted ouer with a thousand shalfe of all sorts : and therefore to inuade that Iland, whose havens are hard to approach, and worse to enter, by reason of the fortifications, and which haue so many ships at comuaund, I account a most difficult and dangerous enterprise. And to this dangerous difficultie may be added another, which is, that the English people are maruellous expert in maritime actions, then whom at sea there is not a valianter and bolder nation ynder heauen. For in most swift ships, excellent well furnished with ordinance (wherewith the kingdome aboundeth) they goe to sea with as good courage in winter as in sommer, all is one with them. They trade into Moscouie, Cathay, Alexandria of Egypt, Constantinople, Lituania, Barbarie and Guinea. Anno 1585. with a fleete of fiftie and twentie ships, whererin were 2500. souldiers, they sayled into the west Indies, and tooke Saint Iago, Saint Domingo in Hispaniola and Cartagena on the continent, Saint Augustines a citie built of timber, and by them destroyed with fire.

In the time of warre they continually vexe the Terceraz and the coast of Brasili. Two of their Captaines haue sayled round about the world, with no leſſe courage then glorie and good fortune. Their foree at land is nothing inferiour to that at ſea; for the kingdome is diuided into two and fiftie ſhires, in one onely whereof (commonly called Yorkshire) it is thought ſouenteen thouſand footmen may be levied. Euerie ſhire hath a lieutenant, who feeth to the election and trayning of ſoldiers when necessarie requireth. In choosing of ſoldiers, they take the names of all the inhabitants of the country from aboue ſixteene yeeres of age to ſixtie, and out of theſe they choose the likeliest and ableſt for ſervice. The taller and ſtronger are chosen for footmen, and theſe diuided into fewer kinds. The firſt are archers, by whose dexteritie they conque red the greatest part of France, tooke king *John* captiue, and held Paris ſixteene yeeres. The arrowes of the Parthians were neuer more dredfull to the Romaines, then the bowes of the English to the Frenchmen. The ſecond ſort uſed light ſtaues well headed with iron, with which they would ſtrike a man from his horſe. The other two, uſe and expe rience of latter times hath taught them: the one is the harquebufe, the other the pike, a fit weapon for their conſtitution, by reaſon of their tall, ſtrong and manlike ſtature. For their ſervice on horſe backe, they choose the men of ſmall ſtature, but wel ſet, active and nimble. Theſe horſemen are of two ſorts; ſome heauie armed, and the moſt part are gentlemen; other lighter armed, ſome riding after the manner of the Albannes ſe, ſome after the fashion of Italy, uſing a ſcull, a lacke, a ſword and long light ſpeares. And altho ugh they are able to bring to the field two thouſand lanciers, and infinite troupes of read, men at
armes. light horſemen; yet their horſemen neuer carried like reputa tion to their footmen: for *Edward* the third which made ſo many iorneies into France, and obtayned ſo many famouſe victories, to ſhew what conuincion he reposed in his infante rie, euer left his horſe and put himſelfe into the battell of his footmen: whereas the French kings not daring to inure their commoners to warre (leauing their manuell occupations and trades, they ſhould grow insolent in the warres, to which

humour they are greatly addicted) alwaies put themselves and their hopes in the fortune of their cavalerie, being all almost gentlemen. But for as much as the French mancaine no good rases of horse, and to purchase them from other places is a matter of great charge, and good cannot alwaies be gotten for money; for these reasons, and for that horsemen are nothing so seruiceable in the field as foote-men, I thinke the French haue so often beene ouerthrown by the English. To shew what force the King of England is able to bring into the field, let this one example stand for many. *Henrie* the eight passed to Bullen with an armie diuided into three Battallions: in the vantgard passed twelue thousand foote-men, and fiftie hundred light horsemen, cloathed in blew iackets with redde gardes. The middle ward (wherein the King was, and passed last ouer) consisted of twenty thousand footmen, & two thousand horse, cloathed with red iackets and yellow gardes. In the rereward was the Duke of Norfolke, and with him an armie like in number and apparell to the first, sauing that therein serued one thousand Irishmen, all naked saue their mantles and their thicke gathered shirts: their armes were three darts, a sword and a skeane. They drew after them one hundred great pieces, besides small. They caried vpon carts an hundred mils, which one horse would turne and grinde. Their carriages were so many, that therewith they intrenched their campe, as with a wall. And for the carriage of their ordinance and their baggage, and for drawing of their prouision, they transported into the continent aboue fiftie and twentie thousand horse: and besides all other kinde of prouision, they brought with them fiftene thousand oxen, and an infinite number of other cattell. The quantities of ladders, bridges, shot, powder, and other furnitures following so royal an armie, what pen can number?

In England the nobilitie possesse few castels or strong places inuironed with wals and ditches, neither haue they iurisdiction ouer the people. The dignities of Dukedomes, Marquesses, and Earldomes are no more but bare titles, which the king bestoweth on whom he pleaseth, and peraduenture they possesse neuer a penie of reuenue in the place from whence they

they take their titles : where ot the contrarie the nobilitie in France posseſſe ſome absolute, ſome mixt gouernment with the hereditarie titles of Lords, Barons, Earles, Marqueſſes, Dukes and Princes. They are Lords not of townes onely, but of great and goodly cities ; receiuing homage and fealtie of their tenants : but acknowledge the ſoueraignty of the king & the parliaments.

Netherland.

OF all the three parts of Gaule, Belgia, which we commonly cal Netherland, is the nobleſt by the authoritie of *Caſar, Straſo* and other approoued authors, not onely for the nobilitie and excellencie of the people of the countrie, but likewife for the greatnes and woorthines of those things that haue been inuented there, and the accidents that there haue happened. They inuented the art of printing, reſtored muſicke, framed the chariot, deuized the laying of co-lours in oil, the working of colours in glaffe, the making of tapeſtric, faies, ſearges, wofteds, rufſets, frifadoes, and diuers ſorts of linnen cloth, with innumerable other ſmall triftes : all ſorts of cloks and dials, and the mariners compaffe. It is diuided into 17. prouinces, viz. the Dukedomes of Brabant, Limburg, Lutzemburg and Guelders : the Earledomes of Flanders, Artois, Henault, Holland, Zeland, Namure and Zutphen, the Marquifat of the ſacred Empire, the Seigniories of Frielland, Mechlin, Vtrecht, Oueriſſel and Groningen, all territories rich, plentifull and exceeding populous. In them are 208. walled townes, ſtately and magnificent, beſides 3230 townes hauing priuilege of walled townes, and 6300. villages with parish churches. It hath manie mines of lead, coprefſie, and cole, and quarries of excellent good ſtone. The Emperor *Charles* had an intention to erect it into a kingdome, but the diſſicultie conſiſted herein, that euerie of theſe prouinces being gouerned by peculiар cuſtomes, prerogatiues and priuileges, would neuer haue yeelded vnto one royll law common to all, eſpecially thoſe that had the laſt priuileges ; for which cauſe he gaue over his determination. It is ſeated comodiously for all the prouinces of Europe, and containeth in

circuite about 1000. Italian miles. The aire of later times is become much more holsome and temperate then in times past, whether it be by reason of the increase of inhabita^tts, or the industry of the people, who spare no charge to amende what occuer is amisse. The heues of Holland & Brieland are very great, & weigh some of the 1600. pound, of 160ounces to the pound: the ewes in these prouinces and some part of Flanders bring foorth three and fower lambes at a time, and the kine often two calves at once. It bringeth foorth great quantitie of mather, very perfect woad, but no great store; but of flaxe and hempe great abundance. Wholdeuer shall consider what commoditie they raise by their fishing and traffike only, may well say, that no nation thorough the whole world may compare with them for riches. For *Guicciardine* writeth, that of their herring fishing they make yeerely 441000. pound ster-ling; their fishing for cod 15000. pound sterlings; and of their fishing for salmon more then 200000. crownes, which is of sterl^{ing} money 6000. pound. The continuall riches that groweth to the countrie of other sorts of fish take all the yeere is infinite. The value of the principall merchandize yeerely brought in and carried out is likewise infinite; the foresaid authour esteemeth it to about 14. millions, one hundred and thirtie ffe thousand crownes: whereof England onely bringeth to the value of ffe millions, and two hundred and fiftie thousand crownes. It is a woonder to see, how that the inhabitants of all these prouinces (especially of Brabant and Flanders) vnderstand & speake two or thre^e languages, and some fower or more, according to their entercourse with merchants and strangers, yea in Anwerpe you shall heare the women speake Dutch, French, Italian, Spanish and English.

The kingdom of Spaine.

Dedication **S**ince the first time that man began to acknowledge a superior authoritie, and submit himselfe to the behests of a ruler, there was never a more spacious seigniarie, then that which the Spanish enioyeth at this day: especially hauing vnder a colorable and defensible title embezled the crowne of

of Portugall: For be it so the large and faire provinces in Europe, the greate regions of Asia, and rich countries in Africa, he enjoyeth in peaceable quietnes & securite, being not disturbed or contested by any riuall or competitor, the newe worlde, the circuito more spacious then either Europe or Africke. ~~the which is as farre as the sunne doth reach~~

In Europe he is the sole soueraine of Spaine, holding it whole and intire, a thing woorthie obseruation; because for the space of these 800. yeeres before this age, it never obeyed any one prince, but was disembreed, and peace-meale claimed by diuers seigniors: He hath very much shaked Belgia, and lordeth it over the kingdom of Naples; containing in bignes 1400. miles: and retaineth Insulria otherwile called the Duchie of Millaine, comprehending three hundred in circuite. Of the Ilands he holdeth Majorique, Minorique, and Huissa: the first of three hundred miles space; the second of 150. the third of eight. Sicill is reported to be of 700. Sarдинia 562.

In Africa he holdeth the great haven called Masalquiuir, the most secure and safe harbor in the whole Meiterranea sea. He hath also Oran, Melilla, and the rocke commonly called the Penion of Velez: and without the Streights he possesseth the Canarie Ilands, twelve in number, and the least of seauen containing 90. miles.

In the right which he preterieth to the crowne of Portugall, he keepeth the woorthie places of Septa and Tangier, which may rightly be furnained the keies of the Streights; yea of the Mediterranean, and Atlantique Ocean: without the Streights he holdeth the citie of Mazaga: and by the same title in the vast Ocean, he retaineth the Terceraz, Porto Santo, and Madera, the ladie-like land of the Atlantique sea, containing by estimation 160. miles in compasse: then the Ilands of Cape Verd, seauen in number. Under the aquinoctiall he holdeth the land of Saint Thomas, somewhat more spacious then Madera, but most plentifull in sugar, and rangeth over that huge tract of land, which reacheth from Cape Aguer to Cape Guardafu. Lastly he is lord of all the traffique, merchandize, negotiating, and navigation of the whole Ocean, and

and of all the Islands which nature hath as it were inameled
the Ocean withall, and scattered in the seas, especially be-
tweene the Cape of good Hope and promontories of Guar-
dafu.

In Asia in the aforesaid right of the crowne of Portugall,
he ruleth the better part of the westerne coasts, viz. Ormus,
Div, Goa, and Malaca. Ormus for his commodious situati-
on, is growne so rich, that it is a common prouerbe ameng the
Arabians;

*Si terrarum orbis, quaqua patet, annulus esset,
Illiis Armarum germina decusq; foret.*

A great portion of Arabia Fælix belongeth to the principali-
tie of Ormus, as likewise Baharem, the lland-queene within
that gulfe; both for the most plentifull circuite, abounding in
all varietie offruites; as also for the rich fishing of pearle.

In this sea the Portugals possesse Damain, Bazain, Tauaan,
and Goa; which citie (to omit Chital, Canora, Cochin, and
Colan) is of so great esteeme, that it is thought to yeeld the
king as great revenue, as many prouinces in Europe do their
Lords: and finally the Portugals hold all that sea coast which
lieth betweene the citie Damain, and Malepura: wherein no
prince (except the king of Calecute) challengeth one foote
of land. The lland of Zeilan, wherein they possesse a strong
hauen and castle, commonly called Columbo, may rightly be
called the delight of Nature; and they enjoy also Malaca,
which in those places is the bound and limite of their empire,
and also the key of the traffique, and nauigation of the east
Ocean, and of all those Islands, which are so many and so spa-
cious, that in circuite of land they may be well compared to
all Europe.

For trade with the Chinois, and llands of Tidore, and for
their safe merchandizing with Molucca and Banda, they are
so secure of their welfare, that they count it an vnnescessarie
charge to erect any castles or fortifications of defence, but
onely inhabite dispersed in weake cottages.

Certainly it would amaze and bewonder a man to thinke,
how many puissant kings and fierce nations are bridleed and
yoked by the armes of twelue thousand Portuguezes; (for in
10

so huge, a great of land and sea, thererare, nor ther were a greater number inhabiting) and not onely to haue discouered and conquered the Atlantike, Indian, and east sea, but also to defend it against all forrein invasions or inrodes vpon their confines; for it is 90. yeeres since they fortified those places with an euerlasting memoriall of their valiancie. Neither can any man to esclipse or detract from their iust commendation, obiect vnto them the facilitie of subduing a naked and vna-
armed people, altogether raw and vnexperimeted in the seates of armes; if he will recall to his remembrance, how by the vertue of their armes they tooke the kingdome of Ormus from the yassall and confederate of the king of Persia, as also that they drowned and defeated at Diu the nauie of the Sultane of Egypt, fully furnished with Mammelukes, a kinde of soldier no lesse famous for their armes and discipline, then the Praetorian Turkish soldiers, called Janizaries: as also that they made good the laide place against the leauer of the Turkes and Guzarits: and in the red sea they haue often for-
ced the Turkish gallies to retire, with a most dishonorable foile. In the yeere 1552. they defeated his whole fleete at Ormus: In Trapoban they affronted and contested with the kings of Decan, Cambaia, Calecute, and Achem; princes both fauored, and also aided with the forces of the Turkish Em-
perour: yea such haue beeene their expeditioun in Cambaia, In-
dia, the whole Ocean, and along the coasts of Asia, that in
desart of glorie and admiration, they are to be censured no-
thing inferior to the victorious praises of *Alexander the great*;
yea so much the rather to be preferred, because neither in cir-
cuit of territorie, nor numbers of people they were euer com-
parable to the Macedonians; for with nineeteene ships they
ouerthrew the Egyptian nauie, farre greater in number and
furniture: with two thousand soldiers they forced Goa, and
recovered it being lost with 1500. with 800. they wonne Ma-
laca, and not with many more Ormus.

Another member of the Spanish dominions lieth in the new World, wherein because he hath no corruall able to
make head against him; he challengeth as his owne, whatso-
ever either by discouerie or conquest he attaineth vnto. This

new

24. The kingdome of Spaine.

new Worlds dominions is diuided into the continent and Islands of the world or globe, for that (considering the great number of them) it is not possible to number them. In the north sea are so many Islands, most of them of forty miles compass, that their number can hardly be ascertained or knowne; some of them so rich and spacious, that they might suffice to erect a magnificent and stately soueraigntie. Of these Boriken is 300 miles long, and threescore broad: Cuba is 300 miles long, and twentie leagues broad: Hispaniola is 1600 miles in compass. As for the continent he is absolute lord of all that sea coast which watereth Florida, Noua Hispania, Iucatan, and that spacious southerly promontorie to the cape of California and Quivira. For euery so farre the discoueries and navigations of the Spaniard have proceeded.

The coast of Noua Hispania counting his beginning at the towne of Santa Helena, and cutting by Panama to Quivira, containeth about 5000, and 200 miles in length, to which if you please to adde the vpland regions coasting towards the north, you shall finde no lesse then 9000 miles.

Peru beginning at Panama, containeth by the maritime coast 12000 and 600 miles, of which three thousand lying betweene the riuer Maragon, and Argenteum, and including Brasile, do acknowledge the supremacie of Portugall.

In the continent are many kingdome and teignories, amongst which these of Mexico and Peru (once most powerfull and wealthie dominions) were counted chiefe, and as it were the two imperiall seats. The kings of Mexico did not claime by inheritance from their ancestors, but were chosen by sixe electors; him whom they iudged yoong, valiant, and wise, of an able bodie, and fit for the warre, they crowned: and one of their kings, because he prooued a coward, slothfull, and irresolute, they poisoned. There was a Senate of Sages continually resident about his person, which consisted of lower degrees of Nobilitie and Magistracies; without whose authoritie and consent, no matters of consequence or weight could be determined or put in action. They regarded nothing so seuerely, as the good education of their youth, their ceremonious superstitions, & their orders of soldarie. Amongst them there was a most woorthie chieftaine called Tlacaell, so expert

Souerainty

expert in militarie prowesse, that he subdued the greatest part of the Mexican seigniorie: and of so great and admired spirit, that he obstinately refused and forsooke the kingdome being offered him; saying, that it was auailable and commodious for the common-weale, that another should weare the crown, and he attend vpon him as a minister and counsellor; and that his shoulders were too weake to sustaine so weightie a burden: adding moreouer, that he would no lesse endeuour with a carefull and warie foresightfulness the safetie of the common-weale, then if he himselfe were inuested in the soueraigntie.

These kings liued in great maiestie, inhabited sumptuous palaces, and maintained a mightie troupe of their vassals for the guard of their persons.

On one quarter they enlarged their bounds; and planted their religion and language to the skirts of Teguante-Pecum, two hundred leagues remote from Mexico: and on another quarter as farre as Guatimall 300. leagues distant. In these places they made the north and south seas their bounds; but Mecoican, Tascalan, and Terpeacan, they could neuer bring vnder their yoke. Their differences and troubles with the citie of Tascala, encouraged the Spaniards to inuade their dominions: and being entred, made their victories easie without any difficult resisting or hinderance from the pursuite of their coquest, which happened in the yeere of our Lord 1518. The Mexicans (diuided into seauen tribes) came into those regions, from that part of the north; where of late yeeres the Spaniards discouered a most wealthie and populous province, which at this day they call new Mexico.

The most respected honor which doth ennable their men, is purchased by alacritie & couragious forwardnes to armes. *Matezuma* their last king instituted certaine orders of horse-men, surnaming them Lions, Eagles, and Leopards. These he privileged to weare gold and siluer, and a silken cassock after the Arabian fashion; to go shod, and occupy gilded and painted vesseil; which things were prohibited to the vulgar, and forbidden all such, who had not inwoorthied himselfe by some noble seruice.

The Empire of Peru, whose king was surnamed *Inga*, is found to be larger and more magnificent: when it was in the prime and highest, it reached from Pasto to Chile 1000. leagues in length, and 100. in breadth, even from the south Ocean to Andi in the east. The merciless furie of the waters in some places standing, and moorish, in other running, haue gaine said and put a period to their further progresses; when without any colorable or iust cause they inuade their confining neighbours. They most ridiculously pretend, that in the vniuersall deluge, mankind was preserued in their countrey, and so by tradition haue been nuzzled in the true & anciente religion, which (as they say) they are bound in conscience to fowe and disperse in the mindes of all men, either by faire meanes or foule. Their chiefe gods are *Viracoca*, that is to say, the Creator of all things, and the Sunne. *Inga Pacacuti*, who instructed them in their superstitions, when he had beautified the temples with offrings and sacrifice, assigned none to the temple of *Viracoca*, alleging that forasmuch as he is the maker of all things, he needeth not any thing. Amongst other meinorable ordinances by him instituted in the winning of countries; one was, that the conquered land should be diuided into three parts: the first dedicated to the gods, and maintenance of the charge of their ceremonies: the second and greatest portion was giuen to *Inga*, therewith to mainaine his estate, the expences of his court, parents, barons, and garrisons: the third was distributed amongst the soldiers: no man could claime propertie in any thing, to say this is mine; but by the fauour and sufferance of *Inga*; neither might that descend by inheritance. The landes belonging to the people and communaltie were yeerely limited, and so much allotted to euery man as might be thought sufficient for the sustentation of his family; some yeeres more, some lesse, without exaction of any rent: in lieu whereof, they conditioned to manure the lands of *Inga*, and the gods: the increase they stored in most ample garners thereunto appointed, from whence in time of scarcitie it was shared amongst the people; the like they did with their cattel, diuiding them by head: which point of gouernment in mine opinion farre exceedeth either the partitions

partitions of *Lycurgus*, or the Agrarian lawes of the Ro-
maines.

Besides merchandize, incredible treasures of gold and sil-
uer are transported out of Noua Hispania and Peru: of those
treasures commonly Peru yeeldeth two parts, and Noua Hi-
spania the third; which is more rich in commodities then
Mexico. Amongst the rest it giueth Cochinella, a merchan-
dize of inestimable value; and infinite store of Hides. The
Illands affoord plentie of hides, cotten, wooll, sugar, canna-
fistula, hard waxe and pearles.

Amongst these riches and treasures of Peru two things
are woonderfull; one, that in the siluer mines which
were discouered in Potosie, in the yeere 1545. there is, and
hath beeene found so huge a masse of Bullion, that the fift part
(which is the kings) in the space of fortie yeeres amount-
ed to one hundred and eleven millions of Pezoes: nei-
ther yet did two third parts pay their due to his maestie. The
other is the quick-siluer mines in Guancaualcan, found in the
yeere 1567. out of which the king hath receiued 42000. Pe-
zoes, all charges defraied.

It is a strange thing to note, that whereas mother Nature
hath interlaced so riotously her golden and siluer veines in the
bosome and wombe of Peru, it hath bestowed no such blef-
sing vpon her neerest daughter Brasile; but in stead thereof
hath enriched her with a most temperate and holsome airc,
with many pleasant springs and large riuers, not without suf-
ficiencie of wood: She hath diuided the land into fruitlefull
plaines and delightsome hils, clothed it with the beautie of
continuall greenenesse, abounding aboue beliefe with sugar-
canes, which the Portugals there planted, and now transport
in infinite numbers into forreine regions.

The Philippinæ may well be termed the appendances to
this new world; and although in respect of their site by rea-
son of their proximitie, they may be thought a part of Asia;
yet the discouerers thereof trauelled through new Spaine, be-
fore they could discouer them; of which Illands more then 40.
are subiect to this soueraigntie, and by them haue been redu-
ced to a ciuill kynde of life and policie.

Now hauing generally run ouer the spacious (I will not say boundlesse) members of this empire, let vs diuide the discourse thereof (as much as concernes the strength and policie) into fower particulars : the first whereof shall intreate of his pieces in Europe ; the second of his dominions in the newe world ; the third of his territories of the west and south coast of Africke ; the fourth of his principalities in India and Asia.

The prouinces which he hath in Europe are of the most puissant & powerfull sort, that are comprehended in this limitation. Spaine it selfe hath bin alway acknowledged for so wealthy, so puissant, and so spacious a kingdome : that not without good cause it may challenge the primacie of all the prouinces, and of the continent, if not in any consideration else, yet in regarde that the Romaines & Carthaginians continued so long and so cruell wars for the possession and royalty thereof. The Gothes and Vandals when they had with the stremes of their ouer-flowing multitudes swarmed ouer the greatest part of the Romaine empire, here sat them downe, and made it the place of their inhabitation.

Trebellius Pollio termeth it, and France the iointes and sinewes of the Romaine empire. *Constantine*, when he diuided the empire, preferred it before Italie : And in the diuision when England, France, Spaine and Italie fel to his lot, he little esteeming the last, and voluntarily leauing it to his competitor, contented himselfe with the three foremost. Who knoweth not that the kingdome of Naples is the flower of the Italian prouinces ? Who seeth not, that nature hath confined and heaped into this territorie, as if it were into her closet, all those delightfull happinesses, which with her owne hands she hath here and there scattered and dispersed through the other of the European prouinces ? What can we say otherwise of the Duchie of Millaine ? And for Sicil, it may be compared to any, yea it surpasseth all the Ilands of the Mediterranean for fertilnes, for the concourse of merchants, for artizans, singular for populous townes and for stately edifices.

The gouernment of Spaine is absolute and kingly, ~~with~~ ~~the king, who is absolute~~ : in their regiment we may see that they haue attained to such perfection of aduisednes, ~~that~~

that all things are purposely discouſed and questioned in ſeverall counſels, before they are put in execution. Where the graue and conſiderate counſels of *Fabius* are received, when the rafh and headie precepts of *Marcellus* are reiected. Inno- uations and change of ancient cuſtomes are auoideſ, in regard whereof, *Innocent* the eight was woont to ſay, that the Spaniard was ſo compleat in gouernment, that in this reſpect he neuer erred or miscarried, and by this policie he gouerneth nations diſſerent in naſures, and diſſonant in lawes and faſhions, *Castilians, Arragons, Biskaines, Portuguezes, Italians, Dutchmen, Indians, Christians and Gentils* with ſuch peaceable vniōn, as if they were his owne naturall ſubiects.

And whereas ſome obiect, that this empire cannot long remaine in this flouriſhing eſtate, becauſe it is diſiointed and diſmembreſ. To ſuch men this may be anſwered: that ſpacious dominions are eaſily ſecured from any invaſiue attempts; but not ſo ſafely preſerued from iſtincte and home-bred diſſenſions, as the kingdomeſ of ſmaller compaſie are.

But in a ſtate thus diuided, there is an vniōn both of am- plenes, and a measurable mediocritie; the firſt is apparent in the whole bodie compounded of ſeverall members; the ſecond in the greateſt parcell of the members. For ſeeing that the portions thereof, as Spaine, Peru, Mexico are ſo great and goodly ſtates of themſelues, they cannot be but ſtored with all thoſe good things which are neceſſarie either in greatnes or mediocritie, viz. both with a puissant powerablenes to fruſtrate forreine attempts, and ſufficient inwardre forces to prouide againſt all domēticall diſcoſtentments. And it is as cleere as day, that by meaneſ of ſea-forces all theſe members may ſtrengthen one another, and ſtand as it were vniited, even as *Cesar Auguſtus*, by maintaining one fleete at Rauen- na, and another at Meſſana, awed the whole Romaine empire, and kept it in auſſured concord: and alſo we haue ſeone the Portugals, by reaſon of their ſea-forces, which they maintained in Persia, Cambaia, Deean, and other parts of the Indies, not onely to haue giuen the lawe to thoſe famous princes, but maugre the force of their enimies to keepe it, and peaceably enioy it.

Some

30 *The kingdome of Spaine.*

Some wise and experienced commanders in discoursing this point, oppose the iealousie and emulation of the Turke, and affirme, that, if the king should imploy those treasures, whicli now he spendeth, in the erecting of fortresses vpon the increase of his nauie ; (an expence sufficient for the furnishing of 150. gallies) it would be an occasion, that the Turke, whose nauie now exceedeth not the number of 130. gallies, would augment it to the number of 200. to the intent, that he may be superior and maister of the sea : and that so the king would be inforced to vndergoe an excessive charge, without gaining any reputation thereby. But this their subtilitie is meere booke-wisedome : and it is very agreeable with reason, that there is nothing so dangerous in action, and so ready to imbarke a man in an irrecouerabe disadvantage, as an ouer-weening conceite, which commonly draweth with it an headdie wilfulness flexible to nothing. But they ought to consider, not what the Turke will doe, but whether it be in his power to surmount such a nauie : And although the Turke be Lord of a larger sea coast then the king, yet he cannot compare, either in furniture or mariners. Along all the coast of Africke he hath not an harbour, where he can build, or keepe a couple of gallies, except Algier and Tripolie. In the Euxine sea what place of name is there besides Capha and Trapezond ? What better report can we giue of the coast of Asia ?

More implements then a spatiouse sea-coast are incident to this busines : he must haue plentie of timber and cordage ; he must be furnished with a people practised in sea affaires, able to endure the labour and working of the waters ; delighting in traffique and nauigation ; cheerefull in tempests & rough weather, which dare dwell as it were amongst perils, and expose their liues to a thousand dangers : as for the Turkish subiects the better part neuer saw sea, and those that haue vsed it, are not to be compared to the Biskains, Catalonians, Portugals, and Genowais. (I adde this people for their many good seruices done at sea in the behalfe of this crowne.) To conclude, in two things the king excelleth the Turke ; the first is, that although the Turke can command more men, yet the

the best and greater part of them being Christians, he dare hardly trust against vs; the second is, that the sea coasts of the king are neerer conioyned, then those of the Turke, and in that regard are sooner assembled and prouided. By this commoditie experience hath prooved that the Eastern nauies haue beene often ouerthrown by the Western, the Southern by the Northern, the Carthaginian by the Romaine, the Asian by the Grecian. *Ostatius Cesar* with the nauie of Italy defeated the fleete of Egypt; and in our times the Armada of the Christians, the fleete of the Turkes. The Turkes themselues confess, that in sea-fights the Christians excell, and are unwilling to deale with those forces. As often as *Charles the fift* rigged foorth his nauie, it was so puissant, that the Turke neuer durst leaue the harbour. In his iourney of Algier he rigged fие hundred vessels; in his Tunis voyage sixe hundred. *Andrew Doris* conducted so gallant an armada into Greece, that the Turke not daring to moue out of his place, he tooke Patras and Corona in Morea.

His land-forces consist in Cauallerie and Infanterie: the best footeman of all the Germaine nations is the Wallon: to say nothing of the naturall Spaniard, it is well knowne that in all ages it hath beene accounted one of the most valorous nations of the world. The French in nine yeeres were subdued to the Romaine yoke; the Spaniards held out 200. The power and person both of *Augustius Cesar* were requisite to the subduing of the Cantabrians. They not onely deliuered their countrey from the subiection of the Moores, but inuaded Africke, and tooke therein many strong places. The Portugals inuaded Barbarie, tamed the coast of Guinea, Ethiopia and Cafraria, they conquered India, Malaca and the Moluccas. The Castilians sayling through the Atlantike sea subdued the New world, with all the kingdome, prouinces and people therein: they droue the French from Naples, Sicill and Millan.

The fortune of this nation doth consist in discipline and dexteritie: for no people can readier finde the occasion, and sooner take it or refuse it when it comes: in celeritie, for through slothfulnes they let nothing slip; in loue and concord,

cord, for they were never knowne out of their owne borders to strike stroke amongst themselves: at a word, in suffring of hunger, thirst, heat, cold, labour and extremities, they will lay vp any nation whatsoeuer. By these vertues they haue attieued the glorie of so many victories, and though sometime they haue beeue overcome, notwithstanding they haue vanquished their vanquishers, as it fell out at Rauenna. They never suffred any famous defeature, but in the iournies of Algier and England; the one by the casuallie of tempests; the other by the skilfull prowesse and seafaring dexterite of the English. Three or fower thousand of them turned topsie turvie the better part of Germanie, and made way euerie way with their swords thorough the thickest of their enimies. These were they that at the iourney of Caruen in Barbarie being fower thousand foote sooldiers of great valour, made a braue retrait the space offower or fve miles, beset and charged with twentie thousand horse by the king of the Moores at least fve or sixe times, with the losse onely of 80. men, and the slaughter of 800. of the enimie.

As concerning their Cauallerie, it cannot be gainsaid, but that the Spanish genet is the noblest horse in Christendome, far excelling the courser of Naples, or the horse of Burgundie so much esteemed of the French; or the Frieslander in so great request with the Germans. It shoulde seeme that nature hirselfe hath armed this people, in giuing them the Iron mines of Biskay, Guipuscua and Medina, with the temperature of Bayon, Bilbo, Toledo and Calatajur, the Armories of Millan, Naples and Boscoducis, the corse and prouision of the inexhaustible garners of Apulia, Sicill, Sardinia, Artesia, Castile and Andeluzia, with the plentifull vintages of Soma, Calabria, San Martin, Aymont, and sundry other places. To conclude, this prince is so mightie in gold and siluer, that therewith (to spare his owne people, ingaged in the defence of so many territories, prouinces and frontires, from vndoubted destruction) he is able to wage what numbers of horsemen and footmen of the Germaine and Italian nations it pleaseth him.

The princes, whose dominions are bordering, and in regard of

of their forces are any way able to indanger his dominions, are the Venetians, the kings of France and England, and the Turke. The Venetians (long since the Duchie of Millan came to the posselliō of this crowne) haue late them downe in great quietnes, rather looking to the strengthning and keeping of their owne townes and pieces, then to the winning of others from their neighbours. And good reason it is, sithence peace is the surest ankor-hold of their cōmon wealth, that they should eschue all occasions of war with their friends and allies. For we haue seene the Spanish in fauour of the Venetians when their state stood dangerously ingaged with the wars of *Biazet*, *Soliman*, and *Selim* the second, cheerfully and resolutely to haue entered into the action at Cephalonia, Preuifa and Lepanto, when at the same instant they had at their owne doores, Algier, Tunis and Aphrodisium their dangerous enemies, neerer affronting Spaine, Sicill, Sardinia, the Baleres, and the kingdome of Naples, then Ciprus or the Ilands of the Ionian sea.

Concerning France, they are not to be blamed if by wishes and Iesuiticall sedition they could annex it to their crowne: but saith one of their owne writers, they may long enough desire it, before they shall be able to effect it. And sithence the French haue put an ende to their ciuill discontents, what trophée, or what triumph can the Spaniard boast to haue carried from them. Indeed it cannot be denied, but in elder daies the warines of the Spaniards hath turned the furious attempts of the French to matter of too-late repentance. For the great Capteine surprising Barletta, and then incamping vpon the bankes of Gariglano, first tooke from them the possession of the kingdome of Naples, and afterwards all hope of regaining it againe. By the same temporizing *Anthowie Lena* wearied king *Francis* at Ticinum, and *Proffer Collonna* cleered the Duchie of Millan. In assaulting of townes and fortresses, I confess furie to be of great moment; I confess likewise that by this vertue the French preuailed at Ioious, Medium and Caleis, but in set battels, as at Graueling, Saint Quintins, and Siena, most commonly they haue had the foile: for in the field good order and skilfull conduction doth more

preuaile then valour and furious resolution : in assaults, furie and resolution, more then counsell or temporizing. Since their falling at variance with the English, at their hands they haue receiued more dishonour, then in the wars of any other nation. As to detract from the fame and well deserving glory of any Christian nation, argued rather an eniuious humour, then an vnpartiall writer: so to passe the bounds of modestie in any action deserueth no lesse a reprehension. For who acknowledgeth not their discoueries of the Indies to be woonderfull; their conquests therein maruellous; their treasures inestimable; their continuance in wars long, as being nouzeled therein since the infancie of *Charles* the fift: the braue prouinces of Italy and Flanders annexed to their crowne to be matter of goodly consequence. But let vs marke and consider their fortunes, sithence they unsheathed their swords against the Christian world, as we shall soone see, that their treasures, their Armadas, their long experienced Infanterie, and their conquered prouinces, haue little or nothing augmented; nay haue they not discountenanced their reputation in these parts? By the expence of infinite millions of gold, and effusion of so much Christian blood, what hath he gained in France? What in Netherland? The world feeth more cleere then day light, that for all their great boasts, their large territories, and infinite treasures, sithence the English haue dealt with them, held them at the staues ende, and discouered their weaknes; euerie birde hath pulled a feather; their credit is broken with the bankers of Germanie; holds giuen ouer for want of pay; their sea forces foyled (if not as they say disconfited.) In the yeere 1586. Sir *Francis Drake* forced the towne of Saint Domingo in Hispaniola, Saint Augustines, and Carthagena on the continent. And when in reuenge of like pretended iniuries they entred the English channell with their invincible Armada of 150, sailes, by the fauour of God and valour of the English, they were driuen home without doing any thing worth remembrance, through vnkownen seas, with the losse, taking and sinking of one hundred of their best and tallest vessels. To requite this brauado, and to teach this proud nation that the English (contrarie

trarie to their opinion) were as well able to offend as defend: in the yeere 1589. they shewed their victorious nauie of 126. ships before the Groin in Galizia, assaulted the base towne, woon it, and with 6000. soldiers at the bridge of Berges dis-
confisited sixteene thousand: thence weighing ankor, and say-
ling amongst the coast and sight of Spaine, landed at length at Pineche in Portugall, woon the castell, marched fiftie miles into the lande, kept their Courts of guard in the suburbs of Lisbon, and thence returning to Caskaies without any great fight or skirmish tooke the castell, set sayle for England, and in their returne landing at Vigo, tooke the towne and wasted the countrey. Now sithence their great and considerate care of future preuention both for Spaine and the Indies; their ships burnt and taken; their galleies put to flight, Porto Rico woon by assault, Cales sacked, and the Flemish by our tra-
uels encouraged to strip him of his trade of Spicerie, may well put them in remembrance what they haue receiued at the hands of the English, sithence their first ambitious apprehen-
sion of the western Emperie. What the Turke is able to per-
forme, you may read hereafter in the discourse of Turkie.

Let vs now intreat of those countreis which the Spanish hath, as appertayning to the Portugall crowne.

This kingdome which is not aboue 320. miles long, and sixtie broad, not very populous, and but meanelly rich in essentiall reuuenes, yet by reason of the commodious situation for nauigation and acquisition, it hath equalized these wants with surplusage with the most famous prouinces of the whole world: yea, this good fortune hath so elated their mindes, that they haue vndertaken diuers famous expediti-
ons into Barbarie, Ethiopia, India and Brasile. Within these 90. yeeres they haue taken and fortified the principall places and harbours of those prouinces, chalenging vnto themselues the peculiar traffike of the Atlantike and east Ocean. They seised vpon the Terceraz, knowing that without touching at those Islands no ship could safely passe into Ethiopia, India, Brasil, or the New-world. Returning from those countries to-
wards Spaine or Lisbone, they put into releeue their wants,

and sickle passengers, and outward they touch to take in fresh water, and fetch the winde. In Africke they are Lords of those places which we spake of before in the description of Spaine. In Persia they haue Ormus : in Cambaia, Diu, Damain and Bazain : in the hither India, Chaul, Goa, and the neighbour fortresses of Cochin, Colan, the Iland Mauar, and the haue Columbo in the Iland Zeilan. Amongst these Goa is the chiefest, as the place where the Viceroy keepeth his court. Ormus famous for the iurisdiction of the sea, and the traffike of the Persian and Cambaian gulfes. Cochin and Colan for their plentie of pepper. Mauar, for the pearle-fishing. Columbo, for the abundance of Cinnainon. Damain and Bazain, for fertile prouision. In these quarters they haue some princes their confederates, others their feodaries. The chiefe and wealthiest of Allies, is the king of Cochin, sometime tributarie to the king of Calecute, but now by the intercourse and traffike with the Portugals, he is growne so rich and mightie, that the other princes do enuie his prosperitie. The king of Colan is likewise their confederate.

Their chiefe force consisteth in situation and strength of their places, and in the number & goodnes of their shipping. As concerning situation, this people wisely considering that in regard of their contemptible numbers, they were not of power to make any famous journey into the inland regions, neither to match the Persians, the Guzarits, the princes of Decan, the king of Narsinga, and other barbarous potentates in Campania, turned all their cogitations to immure themselves in such defensiuue places, that with small forces they might euer haue hope to diuert great attempts, and make themselves Lords and commanders of the sea and nauigation: which when they had done, they intartained and maintained so strong a nauie, that no prince in those parts was able to wrong them, yea, they furnished those vessels so thoroughly, that one single ship would not refuse to cope with three or fower of the Barbarians. With this Armada of one and twentie ships, *Francis Almeida* defeated the Mamelucks neere the towne of Diu. *Alfonse Alburquerck* with thirtie great ships woon Calecute: with one and twentie he tooke Goa, and

and regained it with fower and thirtie : with three and twentie he tooke Malaca : with sixe and twentie he entred the red sea ; and with two and twentie recovered Ormus. In processe of time, as their mightines increased, *Lopes Zuarezius* made a iourney into the red sea with seuen & thirtie Galleons. *Lopes Sequeira* with twentie fower ships, but with greater number of soldiers then euer before, laid siege to Gnidda in the red sea. *Henry Menesius* wasted Patane with fiftie ships. *Lopes Vazius Sampaius* left in the Arsenal 136. ships of war, for the greater part all excellent well furnished. *Nonius Acunia* vndertooke a iourney to Diu with 300. ships, wherein were three thousand Portugals, and fve thousand Indians, besides a great number of his guard and seruants, which ordinarily follow the Viceroyes in those countries.

Besides his confederates and feodaries, he is confined with most mightie princes, his enimies, as the Persian, who chalengeth Ormus as holden of him in vassalage : the king of Cambaia, who maketh title to Diu and other places, which were once vnder his iurisdiction: *Nizzamaluc* & *Idalcam* (for so the Portugals call the two princes of Decan) & the kings of Calecute & Nar singa. As for the kings of Persia & Nar singa, they neuer waged warre against the Portugals, because they haue alwaies had to do with more dangerous enimies : other princes thought they haue enterprized to their vttermost to regaine Diu, Chial, Goa, and other places, and haue left no meanes vhattempted to bring their desseignes to effect, yet their abilitie could not worke any prosperous successe to their laborious indeuors, by reason of the places situate so commodiously for the transporation and receipt of continuall succours from the sea. And though they haue vndertaken the like actions in the deepe of winter, hoping by tempests and other casualties to barre the Portugals from their sea succours, yet they neuer preuailed, because the ships and courages of the Portugals, the one resolute to indure the siege, and by patience to ouercome, the other determining (hap what may) neuer to forsake their distressed countrey-men, haue set all vpon hazard, and exposed their fortunes to the mercy of the winde & waues of the sea. Their woorst, greatest, and fiercest

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enemic is the Turke, who being backed with the like advantage of situation, which the citie of Aden affordeth him, sometime pricked by his proper enuie, emulation, and ambition, sometime egged on by the persuasions of the king of Cambaia, hath often indeuored to dispoile them of the soueraigntie of the red sea, and finally to drieue them out of the east India. The greatest nauie that euer he sent against them was to recouer Diu, consisting of sixtie fower ships, and by them defeated. Afterwards he sent a nauie of greater ships to the conquest of Ormus, and that likewise was almost wholie beaten, bruised, and drowned.

In the further Indies they hold nothing but Malaca and the Moluccas. In times past Malaca was far greater then now it is: for it lay scattered three miles alongst the sea coalt, but the Portugals, that they might the better defend it, haue brought it into a round forme, containing not aboue a mile in compasse. Heere the king hath two puissant enimies, *Ior* and *Achem*, the one mightie at land, the other farre mightier at sea, by whom the towne not without great danger hath more then once beene besieged, but by the aide sent from India alwaies releueued, with great slaughter of the enemie. At length *Paulus Lima* defeated king *Ior*, and razed the castle built by him neere Malaca, wherein besides other spoiles he found 900. brazen cast peeces. This territorie is subiect to great danger, by reason of the puissance of this king of *Achem*, bending all his cogitations to the rooting and final destruction of the Portugals out of this prouince, and therefore the king of Spaine of late yeeres sent *Matthias Alburquerque* with a great power into India, with authoritie to secure the territorie of Malaca, and to fight with the king of *Achem*. To secure their trade of splices and nutmegs in the Moluccas and Banda, they built a castle in the Iland Ternate, of late yeeres for want of succours deliuered vp to the Mahumetans, and the Portugals reculed into the Iland of Tidore, there establishing their trade and factorie.

The Great Turke.

VNder the Empire of the Turkes is comprehended the better part of the ancient threefold diuision of the earth. He holdeth in Europe the whole sea coast, which from the borders of Epidaurus stretcheth it selfe to the mouth of Tanais: whatsoeuer lieth betweene Buda and Constantynople, and from the Euxine sea to the banks of Savus, is his. In that perambulation is contained Hungarie, all Bosnia, Serbia, Bulgaria, Macedon, Epire, Greece, Peloponnes, Thrace, and the Archipelago with the Ilands. He holdeth in Asia and Afrike all that is betweene Velez de la Gomera and Alexandria in Egypt, betweene Bugia and Guargula, betweene Alexandria and the citie Siene: and from the citie Suez as farre as Swachen. The hugenes of this territorie may be imagined by the circuit of some of the parcels. Palus Meotis (which is wholly his) spreadeth it selfe one thousand miles into the land: two thousand and seuen hundred miles do hardly incompaſſe the Euxine sea. The coast of the Mediterranean sea, as much as is subiect to him, containeth in circuit 8000. miles. Egypt, wholly his, is esteemed fife hundred miles long. From Tauris to Buda is 3000. and 200. miles: so far it is from Derbent vpon the Caspian sea, to Aden vpon the red sea; and from Balſara vpon the Persian gulfe, to Tremissen in Barbarie, is accounted little lesse then 4000. miles. In the sea he is Lord of the most noble Ilands of Ciprus, Eubcea, Rhodes, Samos, Chio, Lesbos, and many other in the Archipelago.

In this progresse are contained many most puissant kingdomes, abounding with all sorts of sustenance for the vse of man. What prouince is richer in corne then Egypt, Africke, Syria and Asia? What region more flowing with all good things then Hungarie, Greece and Thrace? In these prouinces hath the Turke fower cities of inestimable wealth, Constantinople, Cair, Aleppo and Tauris. Constantinople exceedeth all the cities in Europe in populousnes: for it is thought that there are therein more then 700. thousand persons; which if it be true, it is twice as much as may be laid of Paris. Aleppo is

is a great citie in Syria, and the staple of the whole traffike of Asia. Tauris was the seate of the kings of Persia, but taken from them in our daies, and thought to containe more then 200. thousand persons. Amongst all the cities of Africke, Cair by many degrees may challenge the principalitie, though some men compare Cano to it for greatness. It may well be called the garner, not onely of Egypt, but of the greater part of Africke and India, whose treasures being conueied by the red sea, and from thence to Cair vpon the backs of camels, are at length distributed through all the regions of the Mediterranean sea.

This Empire from small beginnings hath risen to such greatness, partly by their owne armes, partly by the discords of the Christians, that at this day it is the onely terror of the Christian commonwealth. It hath been their hereditarie practise, to stand vpon their garde, and to preuent their enenies; in their iourneies to vse admirable celerite; to keepe their forces readie, and to haue them at hand; not to haue many irons at one time in the fire; nor long to manage warre with one nation, least by practise they become better warriors then themselues; not to spend their time and treasure in voyages of base account; nor at one cast to set at all, but to proceede leisurely and aduisedly; and, which is not the least policie amongst many, that their princes march in person in most of their actions. Diuers other lessons they obserue, by which in the space of 300. yeeres they attained vnto a most mightie dominion, and that too, since the yeere 1500. to this day, they haue almost doubled.

Their gouernment is merely tyrannicall: for the great Turke is so absolute a Lord of all things contained within the bounds of his dominions, that the inhabitants doe account themselues his slaues, not his subiects: no man is master of himselfe, much lesse of his house wherein he dwelleth, or of the field which he tilleth, excepting certaine families in Constantinople, to whom for some good seruice, immunitie was graunted by *Mahomet* the second. Neither any man be he neuer so great, standeth secure of his life, his goods or estate, longer then *Durante benefacito* of the Grand-Seignior. By

two policies he establisheth this tyrannicall government; by disfurnishing the people of weapons, and by putting all commands into the hands of renegados, whom he taketh as tithe from their parents in their childhood. By this subtily he gleaneth the prouinces of the flower & sinewes of their strength, (for the likeliest and ablest springals are chosen:) and secondly, with the same meanes he armeth himselfe and secureth his estate. For these Ianizars being taken from the laps of their parents, and deliuered to the trayning of this or that schoole-master, are made Mahumetans before they perceiue it, and so by reason of their yoong yeeres forgetting their father and mother, depend wholy vpon the pleasure of the Grand-Seignior, yeelding him all dutifull and acceptable seruice, as their maintainer and aduancer to honor and riches.

His forces consist in horsemen, footemen, shipping, corne and treasure. As touching his treasure, it is generally receiued, that he inioyeth little lesse then eight millions of ordinarie reueneue. And where some men thinke, that out of so large a dominion a greater reueneue may be raised, therein they deceiue themselues; for not calling to remembrance, that the Turkes giue their minds to nothing but warre, nor take care of any thing else but prouision of armour and weapons: courses fitter to destroy and waste, then to preferue and inrich prouinces. Hereupon to maintaine their armies, and to continue their expeditions, they doe so pill and spoile the people, that they hardly leaueth them wherewith to hold life and soule together. And therefore the poore men not sure of so much as their houeshold prouisions; much lesse of their wealth (which by time and industrie they may gather) take no more paines about their husbandrie and traffique, then they needs must; yea no more then their owne necessitie, as neere as they can, shall inforce them to make cleere at the yeeres ende. For say they, why should we sow, and another reape? Or why should we reape, and another deuoure the reward of our labours? This is the cause, that in the Ottaman dominions, you shall see admirable huge woods, althings laide waste, few cities well peopled, & especially the better part of the fields lie vnmanured. In our countries by the abundance of people ariseth the

deerenes of viuals, and in Turkie through the scarste of inhabitants. The greatest number of the husbandmen perish with carrying prouision and other necessaries to the remote places, through which their armes are to trauell. In their galleyes likewise falleth most commonly so great mortalitie, that of ten thousand rowers haled from their houses, scant the fourth part returneth againe. This the rather happeneth, because the Turkes in winter time moring their galleies, do not inure their mariners and gally-slaues to the change of aire and discommodities of the tempestuous seas.

The whole trade of merchandize for the most part is in the hands of Iewes, or Christians of Europe, Epidaurians, Venetians, Frenchmen and Englishmen. In so large a territorie as the Turke hath in Europe, there is neuer a famous Martowne but Constantinople, Capha and Theffalonica : in Asia, but Aleppo and Damasko, Tripoli and Adena ; in Africke, Cair, Alexandria and Algier.

Although the ordinarie reuenues are no greater then aforesaid, yet the extraordinarie arise to a greater reckoning, and that by confiscations and presents. For the Bassas and great officers, as it were Harpyes, sucke the verie blood of the people, and after they haue heaped vp inestimable riches, for the inost part they escheat to the coffers of the grād Seignior. It is reported that *Imbrain Bassa* carried from Cair sixe millions, and *Mahomet Visier* a farre greater masse. *Ochiali* besides his other riches had three thousand slaves. The Sultana, sister to *Selim* the second, received daily two thousand five hundred Chechini ; and for the ease of pilgrims & trauellers iourning from Cair to Mecha, she began to trench a water-course all alongit the way : an enterprize surely great and maiesticall.

To raise his donatiues to a high reckoning, it is a custome that no embassadour may appeere before him emptie handed: no man may looke for any office or honorable preferment, if money be wanting : no generall may returne from his province or iourney without his presents ; and you must thinke that so magnificent a prince will not swallow small trifles.

The Vaiuods of Valachia, Moldauia and Transiluania hold their estates by vertue of this briberie, and yet they are often changed.

changed. For the estates are giuen to the best chapmen, who againe to make good their daies of payment, oppresse the people, and bring the commons to extreme pouertie. Notwithstanding all this, we haue seene the Persian warre to haue drawne drie his coffers, and enptied his treasuries. Not long sithence, both at Constantinople and through the whole emprise, the value of gold was raised aboue beleefe, insomuch that a Chechin of gold was double his value, the alloy of gold and siluer was so much abased, that the Ianizars finding themselfes agreed upon thereat, brought great feare not onely vpon the inhabitants, but also to the grand Seignior, in threatening that they would set fire on Constantinople. In Aleppo 60. thousand ducats were taken vp of the merchants in the name of the grand Seignior. Although his reuenues are not so great, as the ipatious firtill apprehension of so mighty an empire may seeme to obiect; yet hath he an affiance of greater value then his surest reuenues, and that is his Timars or stipends. For the Ottoman princes seize vpon all the land which they take from their enimes, and assigning a small parcell, peraduenture none at all, to their ancient lords, diuide the residue into Timars, to euerie gallant seruitor a portion; but vpon condition, to finde so and so many serviceable horse for the warre. Therein consisteth the chiefest preseruation of the Ottoman empire: for vntesse vpon this consideration the care of manuring the land were committed to the soldiers, and they againe set it ouer to others for their vse and lucre, all would lie waste through the whole empire: themselfes affirming that wheresoever the grand Seignior once treadeth with his horse hoofe, if it were not for this course, there never after would grow grasse againe. With these Timars he maintaineth 150. thousand horsemen, excellent well armed, and alwaies readie at their owne charges to inarch whither their leaders will command them. So great a cauallery can no other prince maintaine with the yeerely expence of fowerteene millions of gold. Which maketh me woonder, that some writers comparing the Turkish reeets with the Christians, never speake word of so huge a number of the Turkish reuenues. It is reported, that in the warre of Persia, the Turke conquer'd so

much land, that thereof he erected fortie thousand Timars, & a new exchequer at Tauris, from whence he receiueth yeerely a million of gold. The institution of these Timars, and the choosing of the Azamogli (for so they terme the yoong lads whom they meane to make Ianizars) are as it were the verie arches or pillars of the Ottoman Empire. And herein they seeme to haue imitated the Romane policie. For the Romane Emperors did alwaies inure their citizens to the warre, and of them consisted the Pretorian Cohorts, which never departed from the empires person. *Tacitus* saith, that the election of the yoong men which was made in this manner, gaue the occasion of the Baratian revolt. In the Romane empire Timars or stipends were giuen to the soldiers in vse, as rewards of their good seruice, and they were called *Beneficia*, and the lessees, *beneficiarij*. *Alexander Seuerus* confirmed them to the heires of his soldiers, but vpon condition, that they should be alwaies readie to serue, otherwise not. *Constantine the great* made them hereditarie without exception or limitation.

By these infinite troupes of horse the emperor worketh two exceeding politike effects through the whole empire: by the first he so awestrays his subiects, that they can no sooner stirre, but as so many falcons these Timarots are presently on their necks; and this is the drift of dispersing them through the prouinces: the second is, that one part of them are alwaies ready at the sound of the trumpet vpon all occasions to march, while the other stay at home to keepe the inhabitants in duty and obedience.

Besides this Cauallery, he entertaineth in pay a great number of horsemen diuided into Spachi, Vlufagi, and Caripici: these are as it were the nurserie frorn whence springeth the degrees of Bassas, Beglerbeis and Sangiaks. Then hath he his Auxiliaries, the Alcanzi, the Tartars, the Walachians and Moldauians.

The other pillar of his estate is his Infantry, consisting of Ianizars. In them two properties are to be noted; their birth-place and practise. As concerning their birth-place, they are not chosen out of Asia, but Europe: for they alwaies accounted the Asians effeminate and cowardly, alwaies more readie to flie

lie then willing to fight ; but the Europians, hardy, couragous and good men of warre. The Asians they terme after their owne name, Turkes, the Europians Rumi, that is, Romans.

As concerning their practise, they are taught when they are yoong ; and therefore no maruell if as they grow in age, so they increase in strength, activitie and courage ; for these three vertues make a perfect soldier. The tithing of springals is made euery third yeere, vnylesse occasion constraine a quicker election, as it happened in the Persian warre, wherein they were forced not onely to make more haste then ordinarie in their elections, but also compelled to take vp Turkish Azamoglani, that is, yoong men; which was neuer put in practise before. When these yoong lads are brought to Constantynople, they are suruiewed by the captaine of the Ianizars, who registreth their names, their parents & country in tables. From thence some are sent into Natolia and other prouinces to learne their law and language, where being nouzeled in the superstitions and customes of them with whom they conuerse, they turne Mahumetans, before they be of discretion to discerne good from euill. Another sort is distributed in the offices of the Seraglio ; the third sort of the fairest complexions and comliest proportion are appointed to seruices in the port of the grand Seignior. During the time that they are accounted Azamoglani, they haue no certaine gouernour, nor trained vp in prescript orders, but some are set to keepe gardens, some to manure the fields, others to learne manuell occupations, and dispatch housshould busynesse. At riper and abler yeeres they are called into the schooles of the Azamoglani, (for so they are still termed till they are inrolled in the scroule of Ianizars) and then deliuiered ouer to prescribed schoole-matters, who traine them vp in exercises of labour and trauell, allowing them spare diet and thinne clothing : they sleepe in spacious lodgings, not vnlke the celles of religious persons, where likewise they haue their ouersers, without whose licence they dare not depart from their appointed places. Here they learne to shoote in the bow and harquebuse, or to handle any weapon they haue most minde vnto, and when they haue well profited in any profession, they are inrolled in the roll

roll of the Ianizars, or Spachy. For their maintenance the one sort are allowed no less then five aspers, nor more then eight a day, the other, ten. Being inrolled for Ianizars, immediately they enter into action, to garrisons, or to wait in the Port. The latter sort haue three most spacious houses like monasteries appointed them for their abiding place, and there every one liueth vnder the government of his superior of the same order, the yoonger seruing the elder in buying and dressing his prouision, and such like seruices with obedience, goodwill, and incredible silence. Those of one order eat at one table, and sleepe togither as it were in long cloisters. If any one vpon occasion chance to be out of his lodging but one night, the euening following he is well bastinaded, and that with so great seuerite and patience, that after correction he holds it no disgrace to kisse the hand of his gouernour. In their iournies and expeditions, they account it religious seruice to spoile the cottages and houses of the Christians, who must not finde fault with any outrage: whatsoeuer they bargaine for they must carrie it at their owne prices. They are subiect to no Judge, but their Aga, and he neither can give judgement of life and death vpon any of them, but in cases of sedition and mutinies, and that seldome, and very secretly. They enjoy manie immunitiess and pruileges, they are croched to, and feared of all men, some of them are appointed to conuerse with ambassadors, others to accompanie trauellers, especially those of honest reputation, for their securitie throughout the Turkish dominions. The election of the emperor is in their power; for vntesse they approoue and proclaim the election, the instalment and inuesture is of no force. Euyer emperor comming to the crowne giueth them some donatiue, and augmenteth their pay. In any dangerous warre, part of them go foorth with their Aga, or his lieutenant, but these are the last men that come to blowes. There is not amongst the Turkish honors, an office more subiect to enuie and ielousie then this captainship; for he and the Begler-bey of Greece may not choose their lieutenants, but the grand Seignior onely: the generall fauour of the Ianizars is his assured destruction. Their number commonly is fower and twentie thousand, but in our times

times they carrie not their woonted reputation, because both Turkes and Asians are inrolled for Ianizars, whereas in former ages none were admitted but the Europian Christians : besides, contrary to their ancient custome, they marrie wiues, and that without restraint or limitation. By their long residence about Constantinople (then which there is not a more effeminate citie in the whole world) they are growne vile, base, and men of small service, yea lazie, insolent, and proud aboue measure. It is a common saying, that in their prowesse and discipline consisteth the florishing estate of their empire, but the argument were easie to disproue that opinion. Besides his Ianizars he hath the Azapi, a base Besonio, fitter for the spade then the sword, intertained rather with numbers to tire, then by prowesse to defeat armies, opposing them to all dangerous seruices, yea to fill trenches with their carcases, and to make bridges of their slaughtered bodies for the Ianizars to passe ouer to the breaches.

As the Romans had their Legions and Auxiliaries; the one the flower of their chualrie, the other as an aide or augmentation : euen so the Turke accounteth his stipendarie horsemen and Timarots the sinewes of his armies; the Alcanzi (such as he presleth out of townes and villages) scarcrowes, and for ostentation: the Ianizars as the Pretorian legions, and the Azapi as a rabble of pedants.

Now a word or two of his sea forces : There is no prince furnished with better meanes for building of ships then this prince : for not onely the woods of Epire and Cilicia, but also of Nichomedia and Trapezond are so huge, so thicke, and full of tall trees, fit for all sorts of buildings, that a man would take the trunkes falling by violence of storne from the banks of the woods of Nichomedia into the Euxin sea, to be triremes alreadie built and framed. They want no workemen to fit and square their timber; for vile couetousnes hath drawne whole flocks of Christian shipwrights into their Arsenals. The yeere after his defeature at Lepanto, he shewed his nauie whole and intire, yea itching to cope with the Christian Armada. Neither can he want a competent number of expert mariners: for out of the gallies which he maitaineth in Lesbo, Rodes,

Rodes, Ciprus and Alexandria, and from the hauen of Tunis, Bugia and Algier, he is able to draw a sufficient proportion of sea-men and gally-slaues, as often as occasion requireth to furnish his royll armie.

The experience hereof we haue seene at Malta, at Lepanto, and Goletta. Of warlike furniture his store is infinite; his Ordinance innumerable: out of Hungarie he carried fие thousand: in Ciprus he woon fие hundred: at Goletta fewe lesse. The siege of Malta, wherein they discharged 60. thousand pellets, may well declare their abundance of powder and shot: at Fanagusta they discharged 118. thousand: at Goletta in 39. daies they rased with their vncessant vollies of shot, a fortification which was fortie yeeres in building by our people: in the last Persian warre *Osman Basse* drew after him fие hundred field peeces. Where euer they come, they never cease playing with their munition, till they haue laid all leuell with the ground; if that preuaile not, they fall to mining; if that faile, they go to worke with spade and pickaxe; if that too, they will neuer give ouer till they haue filled the ditches with the bodies of their slaughtred soldiers. They haue three things wherewith they terrifie the whole world: multitudes of men, vncorquerable: militarie discipline, vncorrupted: corne and prouisions, store infinite. Multitudes in times past haue bred confusion, and commonly we haue seene great armies ouerthrown by small numbers, but the Turkish multitudes are managed with so good order, that although it be farre more easie to range a small armie then a great, yet euen in order haue their great armies excelled ours small; so that I must needs conclude, that they goe far beyond vs both in discipline and numbers; herein giuing place no not to the ancient Romanes; much lesse to any moderne nation how warlike soever. And this their due commendation consisteth not only in armes, but in thirst, patience, & hard diet: as for wine, by their law they are vterly forbidden it. In the field euerie ten soldiers haue their corporall, to whom without any grudging they dutifullly obey. You shall never see woman in their armies; their silence is admirable, for with the becke of the hand and signe of the countenance they vnderstand without words

words what they are to doe : rather then they will make any noise in the night , they will suffer their slaves and prisoners to escape. They punish theft and quarrelling extremely. They dare not for their liues step out of their ranks to spoile vineyard or orchard. They feare not death ; beleeving their destinies to be written in their foreheads inevitable. The valiant are assured of preferment ; the cowards of punishment. They are never billeted in townes , nor suffred to lodge one night within them. To keepe them in breath and exercise , their princes are alwaies in action with some neighbour or other , being verie icalous of the corruption of their discipline.

The Princes adioyning.

Toward the east from Tauris to Balsara lie the Persians ; toward the south and the Persian gulfe the Portugals ; toward the red sea *Prestre John* ; vpon the west the Xeriffe and the kingdome of Naples ; on the north border the Polonians and the Germans. Without all question the Turke excelleth the Persian in militarie discipline : for *Mahomet* the second tooke *Vssuncassan*, *Selim* the first ; and after him his sonne *Soliman* defeated *Ismael* and *Tamas*. *Amurath* the third by his Lieutenants tooke from them all Media , the greater Armenia , and their chiefe citie Tauris. Their batallions of footemen , and the vse of great ordinance , which the Persians want and know not how to manage , haue beene the chiefe occasions of these good fortunes. And although they haue sometime ouerthrown them in horse-fights , yet alwaies with the losse of ground , not to themselves onely , but to their confederates. *Selim* the first , tooke from the Mamelucks Siria and *Egypt*. *Amurath* the third almost wholy extinguished the nation of the Georgians their surest allies.

To the Portugals he is far inferiour ; for in sea-fights and sea forces there is as great inequalitie betweene them , as betweene the Ocean and the Persian gulfe. The Portugals haue in India hauens and castels , territories and dominions plentifull in timber , prouision , and all sorts of warlike furniture for the sea , not without many great princes their allies and confederates ;

federates; whereas the Turke hath no one place of strength in the Persian gulf, but Balsara. The tract of the sea coast of Arabia, which may seeme to stand him instead, hath but fower townes, and those weake and of small esteeme: which are reasons sufficient to induce, that in this gulf, as likewise in the red sea, he hath small meanes to rig out any gallant Armada. Besides, the soile is vtterly barren of timber fit for the building of galleies: for which scarcitie whensoeuer he had occasion to set foorth a nauie in those seas, he was constrained to send downe his stufte from the hauens of Bithinia and Cilicia by Nilus to Cair, and from thence to conuay it vpon camels backes to his Arsenal at Suez. What successe his fleetes haue had in those parts you may read in the discourse of Portugall: for the Portugals take great care to prevent him of setting foote in those seas, yea as soone as they doe but sinell that he is preparing any sea forces, they presently looke out and spoile whatsoeuer they light vpon.

For captaines, soldiers, armes and munition he is better prouided then *Prester John*: for this prince hath a large territorie without inmunition, and infinite soldiers without weapons. *Bernangasso* his lieutenant lost all the sea coast of the red sea, and brought the Abissine into such extremities, that to obtaine peace, he promised the payment of a yeerely tribute.

In Africke he hath a greater iurisdiction then the Xeriffe: for he is Lord of all those prouinces which lie betweene the red sea and Velez de Gomera, but the Xeriffe hath the richer, the stronger and better united. Neither of them for the neighbourhood of the king of Spaine dare molest one another. The residue of his neighbours are the Christians, and first the king of Poland: what either of these princes can effect the one against the other, hath beene manifested by their forepassed actions. In some sort it seemeth that the Turke feareth the Polaques: for vpon sundrie occasions being prouoked (as in the raigne of *Henrie the third*) in the warre which *Iouania* *Voyvod* of Walachia made with the Turkes, wherein great numbers of Polaques serued. And (in the raigne of *Sigismond the third*) notwithstanding the incursions of the Kosacks, and

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the inrudes of *John Zamoysius* Generall of Polonia, he stirred not, neither with woonlike disdaine once offered to reuenge these indignities. Againe since the infortunat iourney of *Ladislaus*, they never enterprised iourney against the Turkes, so nor at any time aided the Walachians their neighbours, their friends and confederates, but suffered whatsoeuer they held vpon the Euxin sea to be taken from them. This vile part I rather attribute to the base minde of the king, then to any want of good will in the gentlemen or nobilitie. *Sigismund* the first being by *Leo* the tenth mooued to war vpon the Turke, answered, Few words shall serue; make firme peace betweene the Christian princes, then will I be nothing behinde the most forward. *Sigismund* the second bore a minde so far abhorring from warre, that he not onely never made attempt against the Turke, but being iniuried by the Moscouite, let him doe what he would vnuenged. King *Stephen* a great politician, thought the warre of Turkie full of danger, notwithstanding discoufing with his familiars, he would often say, that if he had but thirtie thousand good footemen ioyned with his Polonian horsemen, he could haue found in his hart to trie his fortune with this enimie.

The princes of Austrich are borderers by a far larger circuit of land then any other prince, and being constrained to spend the greatest part of their reuenues in the continuall maintenance of twentie thousand footeinen and horsemen in garisons: they seeme rather to stand content to defend their owne, then any way minded to recover their losses or inlarge their bounds. *Ferdinands* iourney to Buda and Posslouia was rather couragious then prosperous: the reason was, not because his soldiers wanted strength and courage, but skill and discipline. For numbers he was equall to the enemie, and reasonably well furnished with necessaries, but his troupes consisted of Germans and Bohemians, nations by influence heauy, slow, and nothing fit to cope with the Turkes skilfull and ready in all warlike affaires.

The Venetians likewise are borderers for many hundred miles space by sea and land: but they maintaine their estate by treaties of peace, by traffike and presents rather then by

open warre, prouiding very strongly for their places exposed to danger, and auoiding all charges and hazard of warre, yea refusing no conditions, if not dishonorable, rather then willing to try their fortune in battell. The reason is not, because they want money and sufficiencie of warlike furniture, but soldiers and prouision incident to so great a warfare.

His last neighbour is the king of Spaine, betweene whom there is no great difference : the kings reuenues (I meane those of Europe onely) exceed the Turkish : for he receiueth more then fower millions out of his prouinces of Italy and Sicil : two and vward out of Portugall, and three from the Indies one yeere with another. In these onely he æqualizeth the Turke, and in the ordinarie reuenues of Castile, Arragon and Belgia, he farre exceeds him. But what can you finde (say some men) to compare to his Timars ? First I answere, that the kings reuenues are farre greater then the Turks, next his subsidies which he leuieth extraordinarily (of late times for the most part ordinarily) as his Croisados, do amount to as much as the intire profits of some whole kingdome. His tenths of the spiritual liuings are able to maintaine one hundred strong gallies: his escheats in Spaine and Naples bring more into his cofers then a man would thinke for. His beneuolences and presents sent him from Naples, Sicil, Sardinia, Millan, and the New-world are infinite and magnificent. Not long since Castile granted a contribution of eight millions of gold to be paid in fower yeeres, which summe amounteth to the Turkes whole reueneue of one yeere. What shd I speake of his Commendams of the orders of Montegia, Calatratua, Alcantara, and S. Iames, which were inough if he had naught else to suffice him: he is great master of the said orders, and thereby hath meanes to aduance and inrich his seruants, whomsoeuer he pleaseth, as freely as if he were king of France or Poland. In Spaine he keepeth three thousand horsetmen, as many in Flanders, in Millan fower hundred men at armes, and 1000. light horse: in Naples 1500. men at armes, and a greater companie of light armed Italians. The number of his soldierie in Sicill is one thousand fife hundred. Neither are his feodaries lightly to be esteemed, who vpon necessitie are bound by their tenures

at their owne charges to serue personally in the field, especially if you consider their numbers, wherein are reckoned 23. Dukes, 32. Marquises, 49. Vicounts, 7. Archbishops (for they likewise in this case are bound to contribute as the great Lords) 33. Bishops. And in Naples 14. Princes, 25. Dukes, 37. Marquises, 54. Earles, 448. Barons, to speake nothing of Portugall, Sicill, Sardinia, Millan. Lastly you must note, that these troupes to whom the Turke granteth these Timars, are not so renowned for their valour as for their numbers: for the Timars and profits of the villages and possessions, togither with the greedie desire of enriching themselves with the demains of their farines, hath bred such loue of ease and peace in their minds, that they are growen cowards and base minded; by their good wils hating the trauails of warre and innouations. They are drawne from their houses with an ill will, and they march with a greater desire of returning home, & injoying the pleasures of their gardens, and the plentie of their granges, then stomacks to cope with their aduersaries, or enriching themselves with their enimies spoiles. For if by a little pillage fierce and valiant soldiers haue become cowards and men of small seruice, what will faire possessions, a pleasant seat, a rich dairy, and wife and children left behinde, bring to passe? I may well say, & say truly, that these Timarots are fitter to bridle and keepe vnder the subdued prouinces, then to fight in field against armed nations: and to this vse it is good policie to maintaine them. For who knoweth not that the Turkish subiects do hate his gouernment, his religion and tyrannie? For religion onely, the Moores and Arabians, who differ in opinion, and for religion and tyranny, the Christians who make more then two third parts of his subiects. For iealousie heereof he is inforced to keepe the greater part of those troupes at home, vnylesse he should lay naked his estates to infinite casualties. To speake in a word, his caualarie is so farre and wide dispersed throughout the prouinces, that they can not easily be drawnen vnto any famous iourney in great numbers, without losse of long time, neither are they able to staie long from their houses, but they will fall into diseases and extremities; so that if the grand Seignior had no other aides but these

these Timarots, he might happen to make many vnfortunat iourneies.

The experience offorepassed exploits, do well shew the difference of these two prouinces forces. The losse of the Spanish fleete at Zerby, may be put in the ballance against the Turkish flight from Malta. The losse of Goletta against the taking of the rocke of Velez. Tunis is alwaies to be taken at his pleasure that hath a liking thereto. The Spanish king neuer enterprised any sole iourney against the Turke, but he hath valiantly defended his owne at Malta and Oranum. I wil speake nothing of the defeature at Lepanto, for other princes had their shares therin. There was a treatie oftruce motioned betweene both princes, not many yeeres since, and equally accepted of both parties. For the one was inuested in the warre of Persia, the other in the commotions of the Low countries. These warres by reason of their remote distances were extreme chargeable to both princes, but woorser to the king then the Turke: for though Persia be farre from Constantinople (from whence the principall sinewes of the warre were to be drawne) yet it bordereth vpon Mesopotamia, and other subdued prouinces, from whence his armies are supplied with prouisions and treasure: but Belgia is farre distant from any part of the Spanish dominions. The Turke had to doe but with the Persian (a state without any mighty confederate woorth speaking of) but the king was ingaged in a warre of greater difficultie, fauoured by the English, the French and the Germains, nations equall in all points to the Persians.

The Romane Empire.

THe Romane Empire in his greatest glorie, euen in the tyme of *Traian*, stretched from the Irish Ocean, beyond Tigris: from the Atlantike Ocean, to the Persian gulfe, and from Catnes at the Calidonian wood to the riuer Albis and beyond the Danubie. It began first to decline by the ciuill warres of *Galba*, *Ortho* and *Vitellius*. For in those tyme the legions of Britannie were transported into the continent: Hol-
land

land and the bordering countries revolued, and immediately after the Saracens finding the frontiers of the Empire without garrisons, passed ouer Danubius. The Alani woon the streights of the Caspian hills; the Persians indeuoured to get them a name and reputation; the Gothes wandered throughout Mœsia and Macedonia; the Frenchmen entred Gallia. But Constantine the Emperor restored it to the former glorie, made an end of ciuill warre, and tamed the barbarous and cruell nations: and had he not committed two faults, the Romane Empire might long haue flourished. The first was, the translating of the Imperiall seate, from Rome to Constantynople, which action weakened the West, and ouerthrew the Empire. For it is more cleere then day, that as plants remoued out of their naturall soile and transported into regions contrarie in temperature and aire, retaine small vigour of their naturall vertue: So humane actions, but especially cities and kingdomes, loose their glorie and splendour by these great alterations. And for this cause the Romane Senate would neuer consent, that the people should leaue Rome and dwell at Veij, a citie far more pleasant and commodious then Rome, especially after the sacking thereof by the Frenchmen.

The seate of Constantinople is so pleasant, so commodious, and so fertile, that it is hard to iudge whether humane wisedome or nature shewed most industrie in the situation thereof. There is no citie vpon the face of the earth better serued by land and sea: on one side lie the most beautifull meadowes; on the other side the pleasant vallies: here rise the fruitfull hillocks; there floweth and refloweth the plentifull sea, yeelding all sorts of needfull and delicate prouision to the inhabitants thereof. He that did see it would say, that here stroue *Bacchus* with *Ceres*, *Pomana* with *Flora*, magnificence with plentie, who should be most bountifull to this citie. After the sea hath made many gallant bayes and safe roades, whereof Bosphorus onely in the space of ffeue and twenty miles yeeldeth thirtie, it runneth by the citie and countrie, with so quiet and gentle a stremme, that the great ships bringing corne from Siria and Egypt, and the riches of Trapezond from Capha doe feldome miscarrie. Here is euernore haruest, which now and then

then faileth in Thrace and Asia. Here sholes of fish frisking and playing hard vnder the wals of the citie, swim in such woonderfull abundance, that he which hath not seene it, will hardly beleue it: but he may easilly be perswaded hereof, that considereth how in the winter time the fish flying the cold places, ascend by Pontus Euxinus, euен in the view of Constantinople, towards Propontus: then shunning the heate of summer, returne againe by the same way, which they went before. At these two seasons of the yeere, the inhabitants as well for their profit as delight, store themselues with great quantities thereof. At this day on the Northeast part of the citie on the other side of the water is the towne of Pera; on the North part is the Arsenall, where the gallies are built and doe remaine; and on the South side is all the ordinance, artillerie and houses of munition. To speake in a word, there is no place fitter seated for plentie of all things for weakning mens valors, for corrupting vertue with vice, then this great and most stately citie of Constantinople: proued by the sloth and delicacie of the greatest number of the Greeke Emperors and their armies. For if the pleasures of Tarent, and the soile of the Siberites were enchantments sufficient to make men effeminate, and quite alter the nature of the inhabitants: if the delights of Capua could soften and quench the fierce courages of *Hannibal* and his soldiers: if *Plato* deemed the Cyrenians incapable of discipline, by reason of their long prosperitie, what may wee thinke of Constantinople, for situation proud, for buildings sumptuous, especially of their temples, & for beautifull and commodious hauens pleasant and delightsome aboue any other citie through the whole world? To conclude, when nothing can be more dangerous to a state then innouations, what could be more hurtfull (I may say desperate) to the Romane Empire then that great, sодaine, and vnlooked for ~~mutation~~? That good wel meaning Emperor, in this did neither more nor lesse, then as a man endeouuring to adde a greater grace to his bodie, should place his face on his knees, and his hart on his heeles.

The second fault of *Constantine* was the diuision of the Empire to his children, ann. Dom. 341. By this diuision of one

one Empire made three, and at length a memorable diminution of his authoritie and force. For when his sonnes fell to ciuill dissencion, they consumed one another so cruelly, that the Empire resembled a bloodlesse yea luelesse bodie. And though sometime vnder some one prince it stood on foote againe, yet it remained alwaies subiect to diuision, and departed into two Empires, the east and the west, till the coming of *Odoacer* king of the Herules and *Turingi*, into Italy with a mightie host: by which invasion *Augustulus* was brought to such a narrow pinch, that for despaire he cast himselfe into the protection of the east Empire. This happened in the yeere of our Lord, 476. And about this time the Huns passed Danubius: *Alaricus* king of the Gothes tooke Rome: the Vandals first spoiled Andoluzia, afterwards Africke: the Alans woon Portugall: the Gothes conquered the greater part of Spaine: the Saxons, Britaine: the Burgundians, Prouince. *Justinian* restored it somewhat to a better stacie, driving the Vandals out of Africke, and the Gothes out of Italy by his captaines, anno 556. But this faire weather lasted not long. For in the yeere 713. the armes and heresies of the Mahumetans began to vexe the east Empire, and shortly after the Sarracens wasted Syria, Egypt, the Archipelago, Africke, Sicill, & Spaine. In the yeere 735. they vanquished Narbon, Auignion, Toulouse, Burdeux, and the bordering regions. Thus by little and little went the westerne Empire to ruine. As for the easterne, it stood so weake and tottering, that with all the force it had, it was scarce able to defend Constantinople against the armes of the Sarracens, much lesse to minister aide to the westerne prouinces. But in the yeere of our Lord 800. *Charles the great*, king of France, obtained the title of the westerne Empire, which *Ado* bishop of Vienna remembred in these words; Vpon the holy feast day of the nativitie of our Lord, assoone as the mightie king *Charles* had made an end of his praiers, *Leo* the Pope set the Imperiall crowne vpon his head, whereat all the people with one voice cried: *Caiolo Augusto deo coronata, magno p[ro]p[ter]ificia, Imperator: Romariorum, vis a[et]r[ia] militaria, illib[er]tatis, dimicandi, et libertatis*

The western Empire was divided from the eastern in I this

this sort : that Naples and Sipont eastward with Sicill should belong to the Greeke Empire : Bononia should remaine to the Lombards ; the Venetians were neuters ; the popedome free : the rest *Charles* should possesse. *Blondus* saith, that the Empresse *Iren* gaue the first counsell to this diuision, which afterwards was confirmed by *Nicephorus*. Thus the beginning of the imperiall diuision began at the translation of the seate from Rome to Constantinople, increased by renting it into many principalities, and tooke perfection at the coronation of *Charles*. For before him there was one forme of gouernement, lawes, magistracies and ordinances tending to the good and honor of both Empires, as to members of one body ; and if one Emperor died without issue, the whole Empire remaine-
ned to the suriuor. But when *Charles* the great was chosen Emperor of the west, there was no more regard taken of the east Empire, neither the Emperor of the east had to do with the west, nor the west with the east. The Empire of the west continued in this line aboue 100. yeeres, and failed in *Arnolpho* the last of that house. In the yeere 1453. *Mahomet* prince of the Turkestooke Constantinople, and vtterly extinguisched the succession of the easterne Empire.

In the yeere of Christ 1002. all claiarie of inheritance re-
jected, the creation of the Emperor was granted to the free election of seuen princes, termed Electors. The reason why the Empire became electiue, which had so long continued hereditarie in the house of *Charles*, was, because *Otho* the third left no issue male. After whom the western Empire was mar-
uellously curtald and diminished : for nothing was left but Germanie and a part of Italy. The Pope helde Romagnia; the Venetians liued free, possesling great dominions ioyned to their state : the Normans taking Naples and Sicil from the Greekes, held them in fee of the Charch, first vnder *Clement* the Antipope, then vnder *Nicholas* the second and his suc-
cessors, who for their priuate gaine ratified the former grant of the Antipope.

In Tuscane and Lombardy partly by the querrels be-
twene *Henry* the fourth, *Henry* the fift, *Frederike* the first,
and *Frederike* the second with the Romane bishops : partly by
reason

reason of the valour of the inhabitants, the Emperor reaped more labour then honor, more losse then profit. And therefore *Rodulphus* terrified with the misfortunes and crosses of his predecessors, had no great minde to travell into Italy, but sold them their libertie for a small matter. They of Luques paid ten thousand crownes, the Florentines but sixe thousand. And so euery state by little and little forsaking the Emperor, no part of Italy remained but the bare title. The Dukes of Millan, and so euery other state, vsurped what they could catch, without leaue asking, onely they desired their inuestiture of the Empire. But *Frances* after the conquest of Millan, did little regard this inuestiture, saying, that he was able to keepe it by the same meanes that he had got it. The princes beyond the mounts also withdrew their obedience; so that now the Empire is inclosed in Germanie: and why the Provinces of Germanie are not all ynder one government, I will now describe.

Some prouinces are as it were members of the Empire, yet seperated; for they neither doe, nor will acknowledge that they belong to the Empire; as the kings of Denmarke and Sweathland, the Duke of Prussia, the Swissers, the Neatherlands. Others confess the Emperor for their soueraigne Prince; but they come not to the diets of the Empire, nor wil beare the taxe and tallages of the Empire; as the Dukes of Sauoy, Loraine, and the Princes of Italie. Other come to the diets, and pay all impositions; those are the Princes and cities of Germanie. But the king of Bohemia by the grant of *Charles* the fourth is exempted from all contributions. Other places doe not onely pay contribution, but likewise a peculiar tribute to the Emperor: those are the cities, termed Imperiall. Some of the Princes of Germanie haue to doe both in the diets, and at the election of a new Emperour: those are the sixe Electors; three churchmen, and three laymen, to whom vpon equalitie of voices the king of Bohemia is ioyned: and though he come not to the diets, yet hath his voice in the elections. To speake in a word, those are properly termed the cities and princes of the Empire, who haue to doe in the diets, and as members of one bodie, participate of good and

euill, aduantage and disaduantage throughout the empire. These liuing after the manner of a commonwealth vnted together, haue the Emperor for their head for their common safetie, who ruleth not absolutely, but by the diets, and cannot call them without the consent of the greatest number of the Electors. The Ordinances of these diets cannot be frustrated, but by another diet: but of putting the decrees in execution, the Emperor hath full and sole authoritie. And therefore as touching preheminence and dignitie, he is chiefe of the Christian Princes, as he vpon whom the maiestie of the Romane Empire resteth, and ought to defend the Church of God, the catholike faith, and proeure the peace and welfare of the whole Christian common wealth.

Now seeing it is manifest that the glorie of the westerne Empire consisteth in Germanie, it is good reason to say somewhat of this most ample and flourishing prouince. It lieth betweene Odera and Mosa; betweene Vistula and Aa; and betweene the Germaine and Baltiske Ocean and the Alpes. The forme therof is fower square, equall in length and bredth, stretching 650. miles every way. It aboundeth with corne, catell and fish, which experience sheweth. For *Charles* the fifth had vnder his ensignes at Vienna 90. thousand footeinen, and 35. thousand horse; *Maximilian* the second at Iauerin almost 100. thousand footeinen, and 35. thousand horse, and yet no man complained of deerenes or scarcitie. In the warre betweene *Charles* the fifth and the Protestants, for certaine moneths 150. thousand men sustained themselues abundantly in the field. It is rich in mines of gold, siluer, and all sorts of metal, and therein surpasseth the residue of the prouinces of Europe. Nature also hath bestowed vpon the vpland countries many springs and pits of salt water, of which hard salt is boyled. Neither is it lesse stored with merchandise; for the inhabitants more then any other nation do excell in curious workmanship and admirable inuentiones: and it is so watered with nauigable riuers, that all sortes of merchandise and wares are with ease conuaied from one place to another. The greatest of them is Danow, next the Rhene, which runneth cleane thorough the countrie from the South to the North, as the Da-

now

now from West to East. Albis riseth in Bohemia, passeth by Misnia, Saxonie, Marchia, the ancient Marquillat. Odera springeth in Morauia, watereth Silesia, the two Marquisates, and Pomeran. Then follow Wesara, Neccarus, Mosa, Mosella, Isara, Oenus, Varta, Moenus. This diuideth Germanie into two partes, the high and the lowe. The high stretcheth from the Mae to the Alpes : the lowe from the Mae to the Ocean. It is diuided into many prouinces, the chiefest whereof (I meane the true members of the Empire) are Alsatia, Sweuia, Bauaria, Austria, Bohemia, Morauia, Silesia, Lusatia, the two Marquisates, Saxonie, Misnia, Thuringia, Franconia, Hassia, Westphalia, Cleueland, Magunee, Pomeran. In these Provinces besides Belgia and Heluetia are esteemed to be ten millions of men. The people is diuided into fower sorts : husbandmen, and they beare no office, citizens, noblemen, and prelates. The last three sorts make the assemblies and states of the Empire. Of Prelats, the Archbishops Electors haue the chiefest place. The Archbishop of Ments is Chancelor of the Empire; the Bishop of Coloin is Chancelor of Italy, and the Bishop of Treuers is Chancelor of France. The Archbishop of Saltzburg is of greatest iurisdiction and revenue. The Bishop of Maidburg writeth himselfe primate of Germanie. Breme and Hamburg had great iurisdictions: next follow aboue 40 other Bishops, the great master of the Dutch order, and the Prior of the knights of Ierusalem: then 7. Abbots, and they likewise are states of the Empire. Of secular Princes the king of Bohemia is chiefe, who is chiefe taster: the Duke of Saxonie, Marshall: the Marques of Brandenburg, high Chamberlain: the Earle Palatine, Sewer. Besides these princes there are thirtie other Dukes, amongst whom the Archduke of Austria holdeth the highest place, and of these Dukes the king of Denmarke by reason of his dukedom of Holsatia, is reckoned to be one. Then the Marquises, Lantgraues, Earles and Barons innumerable.

The free cities (which in times past haue beene 96. and are now but 60. gouerning themselves by their peculiar lawes) are bound no further then to pay two fwe parts of whatsoeuer contribution is granted in the assemblies. The cities Imperiall,

Imperiall, because (as we said before) they pay tribute to the Emperor, pay 15. thousand Florens. The cities haue sufficient reuenue of their owne, for the most part amounting aboue the value of the contributions. It is thought that the Empire receiueth every way aboue 7. millions, which is a great matter: yet besides this ordinary, the people not ouerpresse as in Italie, do pay other great subsidies to their princes in times of danger. The Empire is bound (at leastwise accustomed) to furnish the Emperor when he goeth to Rome to be crowned, 20. thousand footemen, and fower thousand horse, and to maintaine them for eight moneths, and therefore it is called *Romanum subsidium*. The reuuenues of the cities and lay princes haue beene greatly augmented since the supprelling of poperie, and bringing in of new impositions, which taking their beginning from Italy, (for euill examples spread farre) quickly passed ouer to France and Germanie. In times of necessarie great taxes are laid vpon the whole Empire, and levied extraordinarily, and that they may be gathered with the greater ease, Germanie is parted into ten diuisions, which haue their particular assemblies for the execution of the edicts made in the generall diets of the Empire.

As concerning the multitude of people, it is thought that the Empire is able to raise two hundred thousand horse and foote, which the warres before spoken of may prooue to be true, as likewise the wars of France and Belgia: for since the yeere of our Lord 1566. the warre hath beeene continued in those two prouinces for the most part with Germane soldiers; and yet to this day great and continuall inrolements are taken aswell of horsemen and footemen through the whole Empire. At one time *Wolfgang* Duke of Bipont led into France an armie of twelue thousand footemen and eight thousand horsemen in the behalfe of the Protestants, and at the same time the Count *Mansfield* was leader of fие thousand horsemen of the same nation in behalfe of the Catholikes. *William* of Nassow had in his armie eight thousand Germane horsemen, and ten thousand footemen: the Duke of Alua had at the same instant three thousand. What should I speake of the numbers that entred Flanders with Duke *Casimere*? Or those that entred

tered France vnder the same leader in the yeere of our Lord, 1578? Or to what end should I make mention of that armie, whereof part serued *Henrie* the fourth, part the league, but to prooue that this nation must be very populous, seeing that warres are continually open in some one or other part of Christendome, and no action vndertaken therein, wherein great numbers of Germans are not waged and entertained. To speake nothing of the Netherlands, who in times past have resisted the whole powers of France with an armie of fower score thousand men, or of the Swiflers who in their owne defence are thought able to raise an armie of 100. and twentie thousand men: I will onely put you in minde of that expedition which they made out of their owne territories into Lombardy, in defence of that state against *Francis* the French king, with an armie of fiftie thousand footemen. The best footemen of Germanie are those of Tiroll, Sweiia, and Westphalia: the best horsemen those of Brunswick, Cleueland, and Franconia. Of weapons they handle the sword and the pike, better then the gunne. In the field they are very strong, as well to charge as to beare the shot; for order is of great effect, which is as it were naturall to them, with a stately pace and firme standing. They are not accounted for the defence of fortresses, and for their corpulent bodies I hold them not fit for the assault of a breach. And therefore they are to be accounted rather resolute and constant, then fierce or couragious; for they will neuer come to the seruice, wherein courage and magnanimitie is to be shewed. After the victorie they kill all whom they meeet, without difference of age, sex or calling: if the war be drawen out at length, or if they be besieged, they faint with cowardnes. In camp they can endure no delaies, neither know they how to ouercome by protracting. If their first attempts fall not out to their mindes, they are at their wits ende and lose courage; if they once begin to runne, they will neuer turne againe. But in delaying and temporising, the Spanish passe all other nations. He that retaines them must be at extraordinarie charges & great trouble, by reason of their wifes consuming so much provision, that it is a hard thing to prouide it, almost vnpoffible to preserue, and without this prouision they

they stand in no steed. Their horses are rather strengthen courageous: and because of ten which goe to the warre, eight are prest from the plough, they are of small seruice, and when they see their blood their hart qualeth: But the Spanish genits in this case waxe more fierce. In sea forces they are not much inferior to their land forces, although they vse not the sea fights; yet the cities of Hamburg, Lubecke, Rostoch and some others are able to make a hundred ships; some one hundred and fiftie, equal to the forces of the king of Denmarke and Sweathland. When these strong and invincible forces are vnted together, they feare no enimy; and in imminent peril they are sure of the aide of the Princes of Italy, Sauoy, and Lorraine: for these Princes neuer forsooke the Empire in necessitie. To the Zigethan-warre *Emanuel* Duke of Sauoy sent sixe hundred Argoliteers. *Cosmo* Duke of Florence three thousand footemen paide by the State. *Alphonfus* the second Duke of Ferara was there in person with 1500. horsemen: better horsemen were not in the whole campe. *William* Duke of Mantua was there also with a gallant troupe of footmen: and *Henrie* of Lorraine Duke of Guise had there three hundred gentlemen, with the aide of these Princes. *Pius* the fift, *Maximilian* the second, had in the field one hundred thousand footemen, and fve and thirtie thousand horse. The Emperor fortie thousand footmen, and eight thousand horsemen for eight moneths; and twentie thousand footemen and fower thousand horsemen for three yeeres next following.

The Bishop of Rome.

THE state of the Pope consisteth in two things: the one is his temporall dominion, the other his spirituall authoritie. His temporall dominion is either immediate and of himselfe, without relation to another; or else mediate, and by substitution, as representing anothers person. As touching his temporal dominion immediate, he is Lord of a great part of Italy, of all that lieth betweene the riuers Fiore and Caietta: betweene Preneste and the Truentian Streights (except the Duchie of Urbin.) In that compasse are contained the prouinces

prouinces of Bonnonia and Romandolia, Marchia, Umbria, the Duchie of Spoleto, Saint Peters patrimonie, and Tuscan. For situation it is seated in the verie hart of Italy, stretching from the Adriatique to the Tirrhene sea. And in regard of this situation it is comparable to any state of Italy, as also in abundance of prouision, especially of corne, wine and oyle: for Romandola impartheth great store thereof to their neighbours, the Venetians and Slaouians. In sone yeeres Marchia hath supplied the wants of the Venetians, with many thousand measures of corne, and great quantitie of oyle. And although Spoleto is not so plentifull of graine, as to spare for their neighbours, yet is it able to maintaine it selfe without buying of others, and in steed thereof it is abundantly stored with wines, cattell, and some saffron. Tuscan hath often releued Genes, and at some seasons Naples. This territorie bringeth foorth fierce and warlike soldiers: and herein it is reported to excell all the residue of the Italian Prouinces. Bonnonia, Romania & Marchia, are able to leuie twentie thousand footmen, and the other prouinces as many. In the time of Pope Clement, Marchia alone aided him with one thousand soldiers. The chiefe seat is Roine, once the Ladie of the world, and at this day inhabited with one hundred thousand people. The defensible places are the castle & borough of Roine, Ouietta, Terracine, &c.

It is a great credit and commendation to this state, to haue many noble men therein so excellent in negotiation of peace and warre, that the residue of the states and princes doe most commonly choose their leaders and lieutenants out of these prouinces. If the prince thereof were secular; for people and power ~~is~~ might well be compared with any state of Italy. Besides these dominions, the Pope hath the territorie of Auignion in France, wherein are fower cities and fowerscore walled townes. In Naples he hath Beneuent.

As touching his temporall soueraigntie, ~~he is~~ immediate ~~he is~~ Lord of the kingdome of Naples and Sicill, and of the Duchies of Vrbin, Ferrara, Parma, Placentia, and many others.

Where his authoritie is maintayned, he hath supreme government of all religious orders, and bestoweth the ecclesiastical

sticall benefices at his dispose. Hauing thus many strings to his bow, he bath so many meanes to raise money, that *Xiftus* the fourth was woont to say, that the Popes should never want money, as long as their hands were able to hold a pen. *Paul* the third in the league betweene him, the Emperor and the Venetians, against the Turke, bore the sixt part of the charges of the warre. Against the Protestants, and in aide of *Charles* the fift he sent twelve thousand footemen and ffe hundred horsemen, bearing their charges during the warre: this was he that aduanced his house to that honor, wherein it continueth to this day. *Pius* the fift aided *Charles* the ninth king of France with fower thousand footemen, and one thousand horse. *Xiftus* the fift in five yeres and an halfe of his Pontificie, raked together five millions of crownes, and spent bountifullly notwithstanding in bringing conduits and water-pipes into the citie, and in building pyramides, palaces and churches.

The Dukedom of Austrich.

Because the westerne Empire hath long continued in the most noble familie of the house of Austrich, and seven Emperors haue successiuely succeeded one another of that line; for the delight of the reader we will speake somewhat thereof. This house grew famous almost about the same time that the Ottoman Prince began his Empire, and (as it may seeme) raised vp of God to stand as a wall or bulwarke against the Turks and infidels. *Philip* the first, king of Spaine, Archduke of Austrich, &c. had two sonnes, *Charles* the fift, afterward Emperor, and *Ferdinand* the first, king of Romanes. To *Charles* as to the eldest fell Belgia and Spaine, with the dependancies; *Ferdinand* succeeded him in his Lordships of Germanie, as Austrich, Boheme, Tirol and other prouinces, whereunto by the marriage of his wife *Anne*, Hungarie was adioyned. This *Ferdinand* left three sonnes behind him, who although they diuided their inheritance into three parts, yet their successors evuen to this day, did and doe gouerne them as one intier government; their counsels are one; their mindes one, their desaignements one, most liuely representing the ancient

ancient Gerion, where for the common safetie, if any part be afflicted euerie member runneth to the succour of the other, as if it were to their proper tranquillitie. Their dominion stretcheth so large, and is of such force, that if by reason of the great tract of land lying betweene the Carpathy mountaines and Segonia, they did not border vpon the great Turke (who alwaies constraineth them to looke to their safetie, and to be at excessive charges) no prouince throughout the Christian world could goe beyond them, for numbers of people, for wealth and treasure, or for magnificient cities. Any man may perceiue this to be true, that considereth the distance from Tergiste, to the borders of Lusatia: from Tissa, to Nabus: from Canisia, to Constantia vpon the lake Podame. In this progresse is contained Lusatia, Silesia, Bohemia, Morauia, Austria, and a great part of Hungarie, territories large and ample, abounding with people, corne and riches. Then follow Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, the Counties of Carinthia, Tirol, Cilia, the Princedomes of Sweuia, Alsatia, Brisgouia, and Constantia. Amongst these prouinces Bohemia is the largest, stretching in length 140. miles, and reported to containe 780. castles and walled townes, and 32. thousande villages. Morauia, Silesia, Lusatia, are as large as Bohemia, but in strength and numbers of people far inferiour. These three prouinces are fower hundred miles long, and 120. broad: they abound with excellent good horsemen and footemen. The inhabitants of Lusatia (where twenty thousand men fit for the warre may be gathered) are accounted as good footemen, as any other: Stiria rich in mines of siluer and iron is 60. miles broad, and 110. long: Carinthia, a hillie and wooddie countrie, is 75. miles long, and 55. broad: Carniola with the bordering countries vp to Tergiste is 150. miles long, and 45. broad. They are plentifull of corne, wine, flesh and wood. The countie of Tirol is full of mines of siluer and salt pits, and is eighteene German miles long and broad. The territories of Sweuia, Alsatia, and Rhetia doe pay little lesse then two myriades and an halfe of ordinarie reuenue, & so much extraordinarie: besides the 18. cantons of Rethia, are vnder the same iurisdiction. They are so well peopled, that vpon occasion, they are able

able to leuie 100. thousand footemen, and 30. thousand horse. I know no other prouince in Europe able to say the like. And therefore the Emperor is not so weake a Prince, as those who are ignorant of the state of kingdomes doe suppose him, reporting his territories to be small, vnprouided of necessaries, poore in monie, and barren of people. But this is certaine, that as he is a Lord of a large dominion, fertile, rich, and infinite people; so let euery man thinke that by the neighborhod of the Turke bordering vpon him, from the Carpathie mountaines to the Adriatique sea, the forces of a mightier prince may seeme small and overlayed. For what prince bordering vpon so puissant an enemie, but either by building of fortresses, or by intertwining of garrisons, is not almost beggered, I will not say, in time of warre, but euен during the securest peace? Considering that the forces of the Turke are alwaies readie, strong and cheerefull, yea better furnished in the time of peace, then any other nation in the hottest furie of warre. Wherefore it standes him vpon, that is a borderer vpon so powerfull an enemie, either for feare or iealousie to be euer watchfull, and to spare no charges as doth the Emperor; retaining in wages continually twenty thousand soldiers, keeping watch and warde vpon the borders of Hungarie. These aske great expences, and yet lesse then these, are not to be defraied for the strengthening of other places; besides other expences not meete here to be spoken of. Wherefore, seeing the Turke like an vnsatiable dragon, hath ouerwhelmed so many noble prouinces, and so many flourishing kingdomes, yea hath brought vnder his yoke those cities which were thought impregnable; and those bulwarks which the world deemed could neuer be forced, let vs not shut both our eares, and say, he is farre from vs, when he stands at our doores, yea close by our sides.

Denmarke.

Although it may seeme needless to make any mention of S.veuelad, because it is as it were situated in another world; and with whom there is no great entercourse of

of trading, yet for the spatiouse largenes thereof, it may well deserue a place amongst other kingdomes spoken of in these relations. It is situate in that part of Europe which some terme Scandia, others Scandania, or Balthia; from whence issued the Gothes and Vandales, the verie treders downe of the Romane Empire. It is subiect both to the Danish and Sweuian crowne. The king of Denmarke besides the Cimbrian Cherlonese (where Helsatia, Theutonaria, the Dukedom of Slesia, Flensburge, Frieland, and Iuthland, regions fruitfull, replenished with store of cattle and wilde beasts, doe lye) retaineth other spacious Islands, the best whereof stand in the entrance of the Balticke sea, being 15. in number, all comprehended vnder the name Denmarke. The chiefest of them is Selandunia, containing 60. miles in length, and little lesse in bredth. It excelleth the rest in woorth, both for the number of villages, the mildenes of the aire, and because it hath beene and is the seate of their kings. He hath also Gothland in his iurisdiction, which is placed right ouer against Gothia. One of his kinsmen hath the government of Osilia, a pretie Iland in the greater gulf of Liuonia; and ruleth those fat and plentious countries which lie in the continent of Liuonia. Scania likewise acknowledged his soueraigntie; and he holdeth the kingdome of Norway; which from the confines of Scania extendeth and stretcheth northward 1300. miles to the castle of Wardhouse, vpon whom border the Lappians. The Iles adioining therto, Sania, Setland, and Faria (lying in the maine sea) are in his tenure. In times past the people of Norway haue beene of great puissance: they afflicted England, scourged France, and therein obtained a prouince called to this day Normandie. In Italie they conquered the kingdome of Sicill and Appulia. And in the holy warre, *Boemand* leader of the Normans, woon the principalitie of Antioch. In the north Ocean (besides that of Frieland, and the sea coast of Island, and Groinland) he holdeth the dominions of the foresaid Islands of Shetland and Faria. The Orchades acknowledge the kings of Norway for their lords, although they are subiect to the Scottish crowne. Sithence the kingdome of Norway became electiue, & turmoiled

led with ciuill wars and intestine discords, it came to the possession of the Danish kings, who, that he may hold it surely, intreateth the inhabitants cruelly, spoiling them of their substance, and to leaue no hope of better fortune to this miserable people, he holdeth fortified all the creekes and hauenys of the sea coast.

The wealth of the kingdome consisteth in the abundance of cattle and sea fish, whereof there is such store, that of the herring fishing onely, a mightie masse of money is yeerely gathered; so huge is the number of all sort of fish, that at sometimes of the yeere a ship can make but slowe way in this sea; and the marshes & meadowes adioining thereto are verie pleasant and sauorie to the feeding cattle. Scania is rich in corne, and pasture, and well replenished with people: Norway hath no riches of any moment, except timber fit for the erecting of houses, and framing of ships (from thence transported into Holland and Flanders) and cattle, and great store of cheese and milke. Some profit also ariseth of a kinde of fish dried in the winde, which the Dutchmen call Stockfish. It is taken in Ianuarie, and laid in the winde and cold, vntill it be indurate and hardened like wood, and then carried into diuers regions as a kinde of sustenance. The greatest matter of gaine to the king of Denmarke is that narrow sea or streight betweene Cronburg & Elzenburg, commonly called the Sound, which is a passage so narrow, that no shipping can passe that way, without the licence and fauour of the watchmen, keeping garrison there to receiue the impostes, and customes of the arriuing vessels: it is easily gathered to what some of money that impost amounteth, by the infinite number of shipping of Holland, Zealand, France, England, Scotland, Norway, and the Baltike sea, that saile in those seas, and of necessarie must passe the iawes of that narrow streight. The inhabitants are as needie of Rhenish, French, Spanish wines, the spices of Portugall, or the fruits of Andoluzia, as they againe are greedie of the waxe, honie, skins, and corne, which are brought thither from Prussia, Liuonia, Moscouia, and the bordering nations. Touching his powerablenes in land seruice, it was neuer seene that he enterprised any iourney

the Sound:

ney of reputation, but that against the Theutomarsi, vpon whom king *Valdemar* laid the yoke of subiection: but falling againe into rebellion, after many chances of warre, beginning in the yeere 1500. they were vtterly vanquished by *Frederick* the second, in the yeere of our Lord 1558. Before that time they discomfited *John* the sonne of king *Christian* the first.

What this king of Denmarke is able to performe at sea, may be gathered by the nauies, which vpon occasions he hath rigg'd to sea at the intreatie of *Henrie* the second king of France. *Christian* the second sent a nauie of 100. ships into Scotland against the English, and in them ten thousand land soldiers. But for as much as it is apparent that he is lord of so ample a sea coast, & possessteth so many hauens in Denmarke, Scania, Norwey, and so many Ilands without the Baltike sea, it is most likely that he is able to assemble a mightie fleete of ships if money were not wanting: which as I take it, cannot but often faile him, considering that in his whole kingdome there is growing no merchandise of value (excepting seafish) neither is there any famous Mart towne, which is able to draw, or long to maintaine traffike with other nations. The greatest matter is his customes of the sea townes, the profit of certayne mines in Scania, the horses & cattle of the Danish Chersonesse, the timber and fish of Norwey, and the Ilands. It hath beene obserued, that fiftie thousand oxen hath beene drien out of these prouinces into Germanie; for which, tole hath beene paid at *Gutthorpe*. He reapeth soine profit likewise of *Wardhouse*, whither the English of late yeeres haue sailed betweene Norwey and *Groenlant*; some to *Colmogro*, others to *Stockholme*, not farre from *S. Nicholas*, where they traffike with the Russies for waxe, honie, and flaxe: thither resort likewise *Hollanders*, *Scots*, and *Frenchmen*. Almost in the middle of this baie is an Iland and towne called *Wardhuis*, which *Frederick* the second caused to be strongly fortifyed, and here the merchants pay their custome.

Sweueland.

THE king of Sweueland raigneth in Scandia, which is larger then Denmarke, for it is accounted a iourney of ffe and fortie daies from the borders of Scandia to Lapland, and the coast of the Balticke sea is little lesse then 400. miles long, and his tract of land is esteemed larger then France, and Italy. In Liuonia this king possessteth Riualia, the Narue, Danouia, and other peeces of good esteeme, the Iland Vlander, Alandes, and many other places (not worthy speaking of) situated in the Sweuian and Finland sea. These regions besides Liuonia are diuided into three kingdome, Gotland, Sweueland, and Vandalia, which againe are subdiuided into eleuen prouinces, and twelue Countees; among the which the Lappians are not accounted, because this people (though inhabiting a larger countrey then Sweueland) cannot be termed to liue vnder any certaine dominion, because of their miserie, pouertie, and wandring from place to place through woods and mountaines; but they, who haue anie manner of certaine abode, or settled habitation, are vnder the Sweuian dominion, and pay rich skins for their tribute.

Of the three kingdome whereof we speake, Gotland bordereth vpon Scandia, and is diuided into east and west, both bounled with the lake Weret: in the midst whereof the king (delighting in the pleasantnes of the place) keepeth his court. Twenty tower riuers do run into this lake, yet it emptieth it selfe but by one mouth. The inhabitants for the excellent noise of the waters, call it in their tong, the Diuels Head. The word Gothia signifieth a heauenly countrie, which doth wel agree thereto for the abundance of sustenance: no region being comparable vnto it in fertilitie of flesh, fish, and corne.

Next followeth Sweueland, larger then Norwey and Gotland both togither. In Sweueland is Vpsalia their chiefe city, and Stockholm (the kings seate.) Stringa, Enuecopia, Orogundia, Arboa, Arosia.

Then comes Finland situate betweene the Balticke and Finland bay, where stand Abo the chiefe citie, Raugina and Augo

Augo both famous mart townes: Vaines, Viburge, and Castlehome in the Alandian Islands. The husbandmen inhabite without the townes; and by reason of the plentie of timber, the woods, vallies, and other places defended from the furie of the northren winde, they liue here in verie good sort, keepe in their houses flockes of cattell, and instruments to digge, to build, or to make any thing necessarie for the life of man: and this is the reason, that townes here are neither so faire nor so frequent, as in Germanie or England. Ouer and aboue cities and villages, there are accounted 1433. parishes; in some of which a thousand people, or (as they terme it) a thousand housshoulds or fires doe inhabite: but there are few of these parishes, in which at the least there are not an hundred families. By this a man may iudge the number of this people, especially if he consider the fruitfulnes of their generation: for the women of Finland by a secret operation of their beere (as some thinke) become exceeding fruitfull. The men liue here verie long, chiefly in the most northerly parts; neither is it miraculous amongst them to see a man liue aboue an hundred and thirtie or fortie yeeres. This long liuing is the true cause of their propagation: for where men liue shortest liues, there the vertue of generation must needs soonest decay: and therefore our Lord God in the beginning of the world did permit mankinde to liue seuen hundred yeeres and more, that the world might the sooner be peopled, and the act of generation (which now for the shortnes of our liues is determined within fortie yeeres) was then more vigorous at one hundred and vpward, then in this our age, at ten.

The riches of this kingdome consisteth in the plentie of victuals, which this word, Gothia (signifying an heauenly region, as we said before) and Finland (signifying a good countrey) do well witnes. Their prouision is flesh, fresh fish, salt fish, fish dried in the smoke and sunne, corne and beere: whereof there is so great abundance, that it is a hard thing to see a begger amongst them, and trauellers are there freely entertained. It is so rich in mines of lead, copper, siluer, and some gold, that no prouince in Europe may compare therewith. And these mines are to be found in euerie place, if the coun-

treyn people (bound to carrie wood to the mines, and to other seruile workes) did not hide and hinder the discouerie thereof as much as in them lyeth. Most fine siluer is found in the province of Vestros ; and more would be, were it not for the enuy of the inhabitāts, who though they know not the vse of trying of mettals, doe notwithstanding murmur that any strangers should employ their labours therin. And this their frowardnes toward strangers ariseth not of hatred, but vpon a ialalousie that they should be ouerreached, or otherwise abused by the : for by nature they are simple and well meaning, not giuen to ambition, nor infected with auarice. The kings reueneue consisteth in fower things ; the tenths of Ecclesiasticall liuings, in mines, tributes & customes. The profits of the Church liuings amount to a good summe of money : for in this kingdome there were seuen cathedrall Churches, threescore Monasteries of men and women endowed with most rich reueneues. First *Gustan*, and after his sonne *Eric* seised the greatest part thereof into their possessions. Some of the foresaid mines are wrought at the kings charges ; some at the charge of priuate persons, allowing only the tenth part.

Of three copper-workes I haue knowne the tenth part (which is the kings) to amount to the value of three thousand dolars yeerely : hereby estimation may be made of the siluer and lead. But his taxes do far surpass all other things : for he leuieth the tenth of rie, wheat, barley, fish, oxen, skins and such like. Of the tenth of oxen at some times he hath gathered 18. thousand, and with them maintayneth his court, his officers, his nauie, and his armes : for in the time of warre, either with the Dane or Moscouite, he alloweth his soldiers victuals, and by this meanes provideth it at verie easie rates, as well offend-
ing as defending. The marriage of the kings daughters is at the disposition of the people, & they allow them besides siluer, plate and other gifts one hundred thousand dolars for a dowrie. Of the vplandish people and others which pay not the imposition of victuals, the king is accustomed to exact of euerie poll according to his ability, fие dolars or more yeerely. The customes are paide in the hauen townes ; the chiefe whereof are *Calmarc*, *Lodluis*, and *Stockholme* (where at some

some times three hundred ships of burthen are to be seene). Abo, Auge, Reualia, Parnouia, Narue. It is thought, that the king doth lay vp in his treasuries sixe or seuen hundred thousand dollars, besides the expences vpon the fortresses of Reualia and Viburgh.

There are maintained in Sweueland and Gothland about thirtie two troupes, euerie one consisting of fife hundred or six hundred soldiers, al harquebusiers, alwaies ready to march, whither occasion calleth. Bicause of the thicknes of the woods, the horsemen serue with petronels, and seldome vse pikes or lances. The foote-men are most excellent; for euerie soldier is able to make and furnish himselfe with any furniture whatsoeuer, euen to the making of his owne flaske and tuchboxe; as likewise the common people in Peruua, and the neighbou-ring prouinces, being contented with a little, haue alwaies accustomed to make all implements for their houses and bodies; to build, to weave, to play the taylors, to sow, to reap, and to forge tooles fit for their busines. And as for those trades, which are neither common nor necessarie, as to paint, to worke in siluer, and such like, there are notwithstanding found among them verie good workemen, wanting rather matter then art to worke vpon. The Sweulian horsemen are diuided into thirteene companies: Sweueland and Gothland maintaine eleven, and Finland two; and vpon necessitie they can raise a greater force: for the Dukedom of Verweland (as report goeth) is able to furnish better then ten thousand men with horse. In Marchland there is such plentifull breed of horse, that there they are sold at a verie low rate: both these prouinces are in Gothland. Their horse is not so bigge bodied as the Frierlander, but exceeding strong, hardy, active, able to endure trauell, and fed with a little. I will not omit to speake of two noble usages of the king of Sweueland towards his soldiers: one is, that if a soldier be taken prisoner, he is ransomed at the kings charges: the other, that if his horse be slaine, the king bestoweth an other vpon him. He giueth yeerely to his captaines, and those which serue on horsebacke, in part of payment of their wages, a garment, which the Romane termed *Idolia*, and may be taken for a cassocke. As tou-

ching their sea affaires by reason of their huge sea coast, and infinite hauens, the kingdome swarmeth with marriners and shipping, which the king may arrest in his dominions, as other princes are accustomed to doe: he maintaineth commonly fiftie ships of warre, whereof euerie one carrieth fortie pieces of ordinance, more or lesse. King *Gustav* brought in the vse of galleies. In the warre which king *John* waged with the Danes (before the peace treated on at Stetin was agreed) he put to sea seuentie great ships, besides others of smaller burthen, in which were 22000. fighting men. In the sommer time they warre at sea; in the winter at land: for then the riuers are frozen, as likewise the sea neere the shore for a great space. Seeing I haue spoken of guns, I will adde this much, that the king is thought to haue about eight thousand great pieces, the most part of brasie, and that he could cast many more if he had more store of tinne. In the castle of Stockholme onely are numbered fower hundred.

Vpon the west side of Sweueland is Denmarke; on the east Moscouie, with both which he hath had long warre. The Sweuianes haue suffered much losse by the Denmarkes: for king *Christian* the second besieged Stockholme, and foarde it, committing all kinde of crueltie against the inhabitants, filling the citie with blood and dead carcasses. The title which the Dane pretendeth to the crowne of Sweueland, is the cause of their enimities. The hauens, the situation of the countrey, and especially Gotland (which is a member of Gothia, and therefore the Sweuian claimeth it as his right) affoordeth the Dane this facilitie of inuading it at his pleasure. After *Gustav* recouered the kingdome, he and his sonne *Henrie* and *John* raigned successiuely: and although blood enough hath beene shed in the wars betweene *Gustav* and the Danes, yet the kingdome hath retained her honor: and the citie of Lubecke (the mightiest state in that sea) sometimes by confederating with the one, sometime with the other, doth in so euен a ballance pease the differences of these two nations; as it suffereth not the one to practise against the other, vpon the perill that may ensue to the offender. In warring with the Moscouite the Sweuian hath the most aduantage, because Finland (which bordereth

upon

upon Russia) by reason of the great lakes & marshes, wherofie is full, yeeldeth hard & perillous passage to the enimie, often-times swallowing vp whole armies in those congealed waters: there he keepes the castles of Viburge, Narue, Reualia & other piles and peeces vpon the borders of the great Duke of Mofcouia, excellent well fortified, as bridles to stoppe his violent courses. In which, he doth very wisely; for those pieces which lie in the territories of our enimies are to be regarded most carefully, because they bring foorth two notable effects: first, they defend what is ours, and offend what is the enimies. The further they are distant from our borders, the better they stand vs in steed: for while the enimy is occupied in besieging thereof, our owne state standeth in quiet, and time affoordeth meanes for rescue, or deliuerie thereof at leysure, and that without spoile to our owne people, or losse of our proper revenues. They grieue the enimie with so much the more damage, by how much the neerer they are situated vnto them. Of this effect was Caleis in the possession of the English, & the places which the Spaniards & Portugals hold in Africke. But the fortresses built in our owne borders, serue to no other end then to defend what is alreadie ours, & that to our great disadvantage: for as often as they are invaded, all things are done at a sudden, and it cannot be auoide, but somewhat will fall to the spoile of the enimie. To ende with the king of Sweueland, he is so much better able then the Moscouite to defend his territories, by how much sea-forces ioyned to land-forces are able to preuaile against a state furnished with land-forces onely.

TH E kingdome of Polonia was neuer so great as at this day; the great Dukedomes of Lituania and Liuonia being ioyned thereto. It stretcheth from the flood Notes, and Obra (which diuideth it from Marchia, and Odera which separateth it from Silesia) to Berefay and Boristhenes, which two parteth it from Moscouia. It reacheth from the Balticke sea, to the riuer Niester, which parts it from Moldavia, and

and to the mountaines Carpathie, which diuide it from Hungarie. By this limitation (from the borders of Silesia to the frontires of Moscouia, betwene the west part and the east) it containeth 120. German miles ; and from the vtmost bounds of Liuonia, to the borders of Hungarie, not much lesse. So alowing the forme thereof to be round, it is far larger then a man would take it to be. It containeth many and goodly large prouinces, as Polonia the great and the lesse, Masouia, Prussia, Russia, Volinia, Liuonia, and Lituania. Among these prouinces Poland was found inhabited of the Polonians ; but Pruse, part of Pomeran, Podalia, Volinia, Masouia and Liuonia haue been obtained and gained by armes. Lithuania and Samorgathia (prouinces of Russia) were the inheritance of the house of *Iagello*. For in the yeere 1380. *Iagello* then Duke of Lithuania, tooke to wife the Princesse *Hedinge* the last of the blood royll of Polonia, and was installed king on three conditions : the first, that he shoulde become a Christian ; the second, that he shoulde cause his people to do the like ; the third, that he shoulde vnite his principalities to Poland. These covenants were accomplished in our age, when the race of *Iagello* ended. For when the people were vnwilling by depriving the heires (which had right to the empire of their iust inheritance) to subiect it to election, they alwaies called vpon the performance of the conditions, hoping that the nobilitie and people of Lituania would not loose their honor and dignitie by this mixture : yet at last on the one side, when they considered the issue of their Princes to faile (for *Sigismund Augustus* was the last heire male,) and on the other side, fearing the force of the Moscouite, they agreed to vunion and election. In times past Liuonia was the seate of the *Dutch Knights*, and they had therein their chiefe gouernor, whom they termed the *Great Master* : But in the yeere 1558. being spoiled of the greatest part of their territorie by the great Duke of Moscouie, they fled to *Sigismund* king of Poland, who tooke them into his protection, and vntill the raigne of king *Stephen* 1582 the prouince was neuer regained.

For the most part, Poland is a plaine countrie, and (but for certaine mountaines (rather hills then mountaines) situat-

ted in the lesser Poland, and diuiding it from Prusland) all the residue of the countrie stretcheth it selfe into most ample plaines, wherin are very many woods, especially in Lithuania. The greater and the lesser Poland are better inhabited then any other prouince of the kingdoime. The like may almost be spoken of Ruslia, for the neerenes of the sea, concourse to the hauen, and situation of the riuers. Prussia and Liuonia haue fairer cities, goodlier buildings, and by traffike and concourse of merchants greater plentie of riches. For, when the *Dutch Knights* were Lords of the countrie, they builded cities like thole of Germanie, and all alongst the sea coast for the space of fower score miles many castles and places of good esteeme. They haue many faire hauen of good woorth, and are Lords of all the traffike between Poland and the Balticke sea: which is a thing of great value and consequence. For the riuier Vistula arising in the extremest bounds of Silesia, watereth all Poland the lesse, and part of the greater, and Mazouia and Prussia, and falleth into the Balticke sea below Danske, whither it transporteth the greatest quantitie of Rie, corne, hony and waxe of the whole kingdome, a iourney of fower hundred miles. From another coast the most famous riuier Duina arising out of the lake Ruthenigo, & parting Liuonia into euen portions, falleth into the sea about Riga, a citie of great concourse. There are in Pruslia and Liuonia many lakes, amongst which one is called the new sea, one hundred miles long: in Liuonia is a lake called Berhas, more then 400. miles long: from thence spring the riuers, which running by Pernouia and Narue, make two notable hauen for traffike. Betweene these two cities standes Riualia, giuing place to neither in beautie. Samogithia is more rude and barbarous then the other prouinces, and Podalia more barren: which is not to be attributted to the nature of the soile (for it is most plentifull of those commodities which the climate vnder which it lieth can affoord) but to the crueltie of the Tartars, which so vexe it with continuall inrodes, that the inhabitants are driuen either to flie for feare, or to be ledde away captiues of the barbarous Tartars.

The riches of Poland are the abundance of corne, and all sorts

sorts of graine, which grow there in so plentifull sort, that in the yeere 1590. and 1591. it releueed not onely the bordring nations, oppressed with famine and scarcitie, but also yeelded some portion of releefe to the wants of the Genowaiies, Tuscane, & Rome. It floweth with honie & waxe, & whereas in all these northerly nations of Poland, Lithuania, Russia, Muscovia, there are no wines growing, instead thereof, nature hath bestowed vpon them incredible quantities of honie, whereof these people doe brew an excellent kinde of Beuerauge. The Bees make honie either in the woods where they finde the trees made hollow by rottennes or mans industrie, or in huies set in the open field by the countrey people, or in holes of the earth, or in any place where they can finde neuer so small a liking.

It aboundeth with flaxe and hempe, with sheepe, cattle, and horses. Amongst the beasts of the wood are found wilde oxen, and wilde horses, and the busle, which cannot liue out of the wood of Nazouia. The riches of the land consist in the salt-pits of Bozena and Velisca, in the territorie of Cracouia. The reuenues of the kingdome for the most part are equally diuided betweene the noblemen and gentlemen; for no man is left so rich by inheritance, that he may excel others aboue measure; and the greatest reueneue exceedeth not 25. thousand dukets. Only the dukes of Curland and Regimount exceede this meane. For although they are feodaries of the kingdome, & acknowledge the king as their superior, yet are they not as liuing members of the state; they come not to the diets of the kingdome, they haue not their voices in the election of the prince, neither are they accounted as naturall Lords of the kingdome; but for strangers, (as in truth they are:) the duke of Curlan being of the house of Ketleri, and the duke of Regimount of the family of Brandenburge. All Prussia did belong to the *Dutch Knights*, who had their *Great Master* resident there, who when he was not able to withstand the forces of the Polonians, yeelded himselfe feodarie to king *Cassimere*: afterwards when *Albert* of Brandenburge their *Great Master* became a Protestant, he was created Duke of Prussia; and the countrey diuided into two parts; the one regall, immediately holden

holden of the crowne, the other Ducall, allotted to *Albert*, and his successors to hold by fealtie. In the kings partition stand Marieburge, Torouia, Gulnia, Varnia and Danske: in the Duchie (which yeeldeth 120. thousand ducats yeerely) the chiefe towne is Regimont: the Germans call it Conningsburgh, and there the Duke keepeth his court.

The gouernment of Polonia representeth rather an Aristocracie then a kingdome, because the nobility (who haue great authoritie in the diets of the kingdome) choose the king, and at their pleasure limite him his authoritie. They haue neither law nor statute, nor forme of gouernment written, but (by custome from the death of one prince to the election of an other) the supreme authoritie resteth in the Archbishop of Gesne, who is president of the counsels, appointeth the diets, ruleth the Senate, and proclaimeth the new elected king. Before king *Stephen* erected new Bishops, Palatines, and Castellanes in Liuonia, few other besides the Archbishop of Leopolis, and his 13. Suffragans, 28. Palatines, and thirtie of the chiefe Castellanes, were present at the election of the newe king. In the time of their diets, these men assemble in a place neere vnto the Senate house, where they choose two marshals, by whom (but with a tribunelike authoritie) they signifie vnto the councell what their requests are. Not long since their authoritie and reputation grew so mightie, that they now carie themselues as heads & gouernors, rather then officers & ministers of the publike deccrees of the estates. There was one of the councel, that after the maner of *Clodius*, refused his Senators place to become one of these officers. When a new king is to be chosen, these men do more and more limit his authoritie, not suffring it to stretch one iot farther then accustomed. But although the crowne of Poland be at the disposition of the nobilitie, yet was it neuer heard that they rejected or overslipped the kings successor, or transferred the kingdome into any other line more then once, when depoising *Ladislaus* (whom notwithstanding they afterward restored) they elected *Wenceslaus* the Bohemian. Likewise, they haue alwaies a regard to the kings daughters, as of *Hedinge*, maried by them to *Iagello*; and in our times of *Anne* giuen in mariage

riage to king *Stephen*. It was no final cause of the aduancement of *Sigismund* the third, to the crowne of Polonia, that he was the sonne of *Katherine* sister to *Sigismund* the emperor, and of the foresaid *Anne*: And although the kingly authoritie be electiue, yet after he is chosen, his power is absolute in manie things, as to call the diets, to appoint the times and place at his pleasure, to choose laie councellors, and nominate the bishops, and whom he will haue to be of the priuie councell; he is absolute disposer of the revenue of the crowne, and Lord of those which hold of him immedieate; but ouer the tenants of the nobilitie he hath no iurisdiction: he is absolute establiſher of the decrees of the diets, and soueraigne Judge of the nobles in criminall causes; it is in his power to reward and aduance whom pleafeth him: to speake in a word, such as is his valor, dexteritie, and wisedome, such is his power, authoritie, and gouernment. As the Polanders say, the decrees of the king indure but three daies, & they conuerſe with him not as cosins, as in France, but as bretliren. And as the king hath absolute authoritie ouer them, which immediately hold of him, so the nobilitie dispose absolutely of their vassals, vpon cuerie of whom they exercise more then kingly authoritie, in manner as vpon slaues. In establishing their kingdome, they haue done one thing woorthie the noting, which is, that as the Romanes increased their names and dominion, by communicating the lawes and honors of Italy, and the citie of Rome to other cities, yea whole prouinces: so the kings of Polonia haue enlarged, vnited and strengthened their estate, by participating the priuileges of the Polish nobilitie to those prouinces, which either they haue conquered by armes or otherwaies purchased, gracing the nobles thereof with fauours equall to any bestowed on the Polish nobilitie. By this equalizing, king *Ladislans* strongly vnited Russia and Podalia to Poland: *Sigismund & Augustus*, Lithuania: *Stephen*, Liuonia: for equalitie in offices & promotions knitteth affections in peace and warre.

The force of this kingdome (as of others) consisteth in graine, coine, footemen, horsemen, armour and munition. Of graine we haue spoken alreadie. In coine it is not verie rich: for

for excepting Danske they haue neuer a mart towne woor-thie estimation ; and the wares that are brought from Prussia & Liuonia, do not inrich the kingdome with ready money; yea they do hardly suffice to barter with the English & Fleminish for cloth, silks & wools : or with the Spanish and Portugals for sugars,spices,fruits & Maluesies. For when the countrie is not giuen to traffike, nor the cities to buy & sell, nor the people to labour, and the nobilitie is very gallant , prodigall in expences, spending more then their reuenues in diet and apparell, and the seasoning of their meates (for the Polanders vse more spices then any other nation :) and their wine, their silke, and the greatest part of their woollen cloth is brought from forren nations, how can the kingdome be rich in siluer ? For in trans-porting of rich ware, and returning of little, consisteth the wealth of every kingdome ; gathering together (by venting home-bred commodities) the coine of forren countries, and keeping it once brought in, from passing abroad againe. In this practise consisteth the wealth of Naples and Millan : for Naples sendeth to sea great store of corne, wine, oile, silke, woad, horses, fruits, and such like, which bring in huge masses offorren coine : Millan supplieth the want of other prouinces with corne, rice, clothes, iron works, and wares of all sorts; and returneth little againe. If the kingdome of Naples and Sicill were as well stored with artificiall workmanship, as they are prouided with corne and wealth, no other kingdome could compare with them.

To retorne to Poland: notwithstanding, their riches are not so small as some thinke they are ; for the reuenues of the crowne raised of the mines of salt and siluer amount yeerely to sixe hundred thousand ducats. True it is that *Sigismund Augustus* pawned part of his reuenues, and king *Henry* a moneth before his flight (to binde some part of the nobilitie fast vnto him) sold vnto them more then three hundred thousand ducats of yeerly rent. It is lawfull for the king by fales of escheats falling to the crowne, to purchase livings for himselfe, and of the said reuenues to retaine great portions to his proper vse, and spare his owne expences : for when the king with his court abideth in Lithuania , the Lithuanians defray the char-

ges : the like is done in most places of Poland. He that wai-
eth with himselfe that the reuenues of Scotland, Nauarre, and
Sardinia exceed not yeerely one hundred thousand duckets,
nor the kingdome of Aragon to yeeld aboue one hundred
thousand crownes every three yeeres; cannot lightly esteeme
of the reuenues of this kingdome : yet the king might raise
his reuenues to a higher reckoning, if he were lesse bountifull
to his Palatines and Castellanes: for most commonly he be-
stoweth on them two parts, and three parts, yea now and then
the whole profits arising in their gouernments; but in the
time of war and dangerous occurrences (yet by the decree of
the assemblies of the kingdome) the king doth lay greeuous
impositions and taxes on the people, which are either levied
of the prouinces, or of the aslike of bread : and these tallages
haue amounted to such a reckoning, that therewith king *Stephens*
sustained the burden of a most heauy three-yeeres warre
against the great Duke of Moscouie ; yea the gentlemen for
the defence of the kingdome, are bound to serue at their own
charges. These serue on horsebacke, some arm'd as our men
at armes, some lightlier arm'd, some like the Tartars, and
those they terme Cossaches or aduenturers, trained vp to
steale, to depopulate, to waste, to turne all things upside
downe. These gent. serue in the field gallantly furnished, atti-
red in caslocks and hose shining with gold & siluer, & thou-
sand other colours: they adorne themselues with plumes and
feathers of eagles, with the skins of leopards and beares, and
with many banners and partie-coloured ensignes. These and
such like furnitures do cause them to be discerned of their fel-
lowes, make them seeme terrible to their enimies, and incou-
rage their mindes to fiercenes and prowelte: Their horse are
small, but nimble, and farre more couragious then the Dutch.
It is thought that vpon necessitie, Poland is able to raise an
hundred thousand horse, and Lithuania 70 .thousand, but
far inferior in goodness to the Polish. They haue so great confi-
dence in the great number of their horse, that nothing fearing
the power of any enimies, they regard not the building of for-
tresses, but resolute that they are able to defend their coun-
try, their wiues and children, their libertie and goods, in the
open

open field against any prince whatsoeuer ; boasting that in either chance of warre , they neuer turned their backes to their enimies. *Sigismund Augustus* labored, that in the diets of the kingdome order might be taken for the fortifying of Cra- couia, because of the neighbourhood of the Emperor: but he could neuer effect it, partly because it should not give their kings opportunity of absolute authoritie, and tyrannicall em- perie, partly because they thinke themselues by noble cour- age sufficiently able to defend the kingdome. They haue no infanterie; for all the people of the kingdome is diuided either into merchants and artificers (which inhabite the cities) or la- bourers and husbandmen which liue in the countrey, in such subiectiōn as we spake off before : and this is the reason that the gentlemen onely go to the warre, and will not in any case serue on foote ; but when occasion serueth , they wage Ger- maine and Hungarie footemen : and of these, king *Stephen* in his iourney into Liuonia, entertained vnder his colours little lesse then sixteene thousand, to conuey their great ordinance: For pioners they vse the Tartars, and their owne vplandish people. The kingdome is sufficiently stored with great ordinance and all furniture belonging thereto , of which it can suffer no manner of scarcitie : first, because the noblemen keepe many in their castles ; next, for the neighbourhood of Germanie , which is rich in mettall to cast great ordinance ; and plentifull of artificers to forge any thing belonging to the vse of warre. And though it is not vsuall to see many castles in Polonia, yet the fortresses of Leopolis and Camentzie in Rus- sia , the castle of Cracouia in the lesse Poland , Polocensis in the frontiers of Moscouia , Marienbourg and some other townes in Liuonia, are peeces of no small strength. These for- ces of Polonia (which we haue spoken of) are such in quanti- tie and qualitie, that few nations in Europe can equall them, none surpassē them: one thing they want, and that is celerity: for to the sure strengthning of every kingdome, fower things are required ; that is to say, that their force be of their owne subiects, that it be populous, valiant, & quick: their owne, be- cause it is dangerous trusting a stranger; populous, because of reenforcements after checks or ouerthrowes; valiant, because number

number without courage little availeth ; yea it bringeth forth tumult and confusion : quicke, that they may lightly mooue, and speedily be drawen whither necessarie enforceth. The last of these fower vertues the Polands want, that is, celerite : which commeth two waies , one by the authoritie of the prince, the other by readie money. The king hath not power to determine any thing ; to denounce warre, to impose taxes, or to gather treasure without the consent of the parliament, and this parliament (where it is necessarie that many be present) is like an engine made of many peeces, which without long delaies and losse of time can neuer readilie be ioyned togither , or mooued forward. For in warlike affaires those princes make best speede , which are best able to command , and haue most money in readines ; otherwise in appointing and ordring the diets , and deuising that the actions may answere the counsels ; then in executing , and lastly in prouiding of money there happeneth such losse of time , that little is left for the beginning of the iourney, much lesse for the accomplishment. Besides the Barons and nobles are at such charges in trauailing to the diets , and make such long tariance when they are there, that at their departure they haue little left wherewith to maintaine the war. It may be that for the defence of the state, quicker and readier resolution would be taken, because of the imminent danger fatall in generall. But for the conquest of any place, I beleue they would proceed with like slownes and irresolution, for the hope of good doth not so much mooue vs, as the feare of euill : yet hath our age seene (in the raigne of *Sigismund Augustus*) the Moscouite to haue conquered the prouinces of Moloch & Smolock, and that without resistance or reuenge; a cowardize ill beseeeming so high a king, & so mightie a state : as likewise he inuaded Liuonia without impeachment , which had shadowed it selfe vnder the wing & protection of the said *Sigismund*. In the daies of *Henrie of Aniow*, *John prince of Moldauia* (euen he that with an vndaunted spirit and famous victorie) held war against the Turke, was shamefully forsaken of them, contrary to the couenants of confederacy betwene him and *Sigismund Augustus* concluded. Yet muft we needes confess, that such

as is the courage, valour, and reputation of the prince; such is the resolution, alacritie, and forces of the Polands: of them-selues populous, valiant, and couragious. *Stephen Barbor* gaue good testimonie heereof, in whose time Polonia not onely maintained the honor and glory of a kingdome, sufficient to defend it selfe from forraine armes, but also to make conquests of great matters, from most potent enemis. And seeing we haue spoken of celeritie, a vertue most necessarie for euerie state, it shall not be amisse to speake of the causes of this celeritie, which (as is aforesaid) are two: viz. the reputation of the prince, which giueth it life; and store of coine, which preserues it in action: for we haue seene in most iughtie armes, the body by the flownes of the head, to haue spent the time most idly, and very famous victories for want of money, to giue continuall motion to the armie, to haue brought forth small or no effects. Besides, the disposition of the soldier is a great helpe hereunto: for no man can truly praise the Germane and Bohemian footemen for celeritie; but this commendation without doubt is proper to the Italian, Spaniard, and Frenchmen, not onely for that they are of better constitution of body, but for that (which in warre is all in all) they are better contented to liue with a little: though they want coine they are not discouraged, neither waxe sicke with fruities, if flesh be wanting; and happen what may, they longer and better can indure hardnes and scarcitie. Their riding light armed is of more execution then armed at all peeces, and their argoletiers more seruiceable then lanciers: for which cause the French also in their late broiles haue giuen ouer their lances, wherin of old did consist the glory of their armes, and betaken them-selues to the pistoll. But to what aduantage they haue thus done, let another dispute, for I say not, that a light armed man is absolutely to be preferred before a man at armes in chances of warre, but onely affirmie, that he is more actiue and more readie: yeathe goodnes of the horse is of great consequence. For the Flanders horse farre excelleth the Frieslander and Germane; the Hungarie horse, the Polonian; the Turkie horse, the Genet: the Barbarie horse is more speedie then any of the rest: Betweene both is the courser of Naples,

Naples, who though he be not so swift as the Spanish genet, yet he is better able to indure trauell, and to beare the waight of armour, not becomming ouerlow therewith. To speake truth, experience manifesteth the Germane horse, by reason of their slow pace to worke small effect, either to pursue the fleeing enemie, or swiftly to flic from their executing aduersarie : for if the Wallachian, Hungarian, Polish, Turkish, Moorish, or Barbarie horsemen should breake the Germans, they are not able to flic; and if it happen the German to ouerthrow them, they are as vnable speedily to pursue : for they charge slowly, & retire heauily. So in fightes at sea, ships of burden are of small seruice, because if winde want, they can neither be moued nor turned : the great Galleons are somewhat better, yet performe little more, but the best of all is the galley for his swiftnes. And for proofe hereof, we haue seene the nauy of the Christians consisting of great ships to haue spent the better part of sommer and warlike season in preparations onely, and on the contrarie, the Turkish fleete soone furnished, and speedily put to sea ; of such aduantage is spare diet, and needfull prouision to the Turkish affaires, and so discommodious is gluttonie to the proceedings of the Christians : for wine and other delicates onely are as troublesome to the Christians, as the whole prouision for a campe, to the Turkish armie. Therefore let no man maruell if they march in all their iorneies excellently well furnished with ordinance, shot, gunpowder, and all necessaries : for at land they haue their carriages laden onely with prouision, at sea their ships, and not with wine, pullets, and such needless vanities. At a word, they go to the warre to fight, and not to fill their bellies.

The great Duke of Moscouia.

THE great Duke of Moscouia is Lord of a most large territorie, and within the limits of his iurisdiction are contayned many regions. Northward his scepter stretcheth to the north Ocean from the Bay of Granico to the riuier of Ob : on the south all alongst the riuier Volga to the Caspian sea : westward it reacheth to the borders of Liuonia, and

and almost to the riuers Boristhenes, and eastward to Volga. Some write, that it containeth in length three thousand miles, in bredth 1500. wherein are contained fifteene Duke-domes, sixteene prouinces, and two kingdome. They were once subiect to the Tartars, whose Prince *Rydo* in the yeere 1140. conquered all Moscouie; but *John* the first great Duke (incouraged by their ciuill dissentions) denied them tribute. In procelle of time, when *Ammetes* the last successor of *Rydo*, (who died at Vilua) had ouercome the Tartars Precopenses, the great Duke adioyned to his Empire, Permia, Veatia, and Iugria, prouinces subiect to *Ammetes*. From this time the forces of the great Duke increasing, *Basilus Casan*, and *John* the second conquered the prouinces of Citrahan, which are called kingdome. To confess truth, the great Dukes haue mightily enlarged their bounds, and haue taken the great Duchies of Seuerin and Smoloncke, Bielchese, Pescouia, Nouogrod, Iarollaue, Roscouia, some from the Polands, & some from other prouinces: they possessed part of Liuonia, and made their armes fearful to their neighbours. The chiefe citie of the kingdoime is Mosco, where the Patriarch resideth, Roscouia and Nouogrode are the seats of the Archbishops: Cortila, Resania, Columna, Susdelia, Casan, Vologda, Tueria, and Smolonck, are Bishopricks: Plescouia, Porcowia, Staritia, Sloboda, Ieroollaue, Volodomere (from whence the kings seat was translated to the citie Mosco, by *John* the second) Mosayco, Saint Nicholas, Sugana, Vstiid, Cargapolia. The Emperor abideth in the citie Mosco, which taketh his name of the riuer Mosco, rising fourescore & ten miles higher into the countrey. The citie hath beene greater then now it is, & was nine miles compassie: but since that in the yeere 1570. it was sacked and burnt by the Tartars Precopie; it containeth not aboue fife miles. According to *Possenius* a writer of good iudgement and industrie, there are houised in this citie thirtie thousand people, besides oxen and other cattell.

Nouograde hath the name of *Great*, and yet the same author alloweth it not aboue twentie thousand inhabitants; as likewise Smolonck and Plescouia. This seemeth most incredible to me, if it be true as some write, that Plescouia when

king Stephen of Poland besieged it, had within it fiftie thousand footemen, and seuen thousand horse. Truly this is a great number, and though they were not all Moscouites, yet this reckoning asketh a great proportion of inhabitants: for if the king thrust in 57 thousand fighting men, it must needs be that the inhabitants were verie many moe. Some will haue it, that in times past the countrey was better replenished with people, and that afterwards it became desolate for three causes: the first, the plague (a new disease in Moscouie) which gleaned away many thousand people: the second, the tyrannie of their Emperors, who haue put infinite numbers to death, especially of the nobilitie: the third, the incursions and robberies of the Tartars Precopie, and Negaians, which neuer cease vexing their bordering neighbours. These Tartars harrie not onely the countrey, but lead away captiue whole cities, selling them to the Turks and other nations. These inrodes haue laid waste many and far remoued prouinces.

The wisedome of a prince is not liuelier discerned then in his good foresight, whether his enterprises are likely to prooue hurtfull or profitable to his estate; and when he suffereth not himselfe to be carried away with the vaine hope of atchieuing some conquest, which can neither continue to him sure nor certaine, but rather draweth after it a continual disquiet to his owne safetie. For that prince that is led with such an ambitious humor to inlarge his estate, doth but weaken himselfe in people and riches, and in mine opinion is like the man that minding to raise the wals and roofe of his house higher, taketh away the foundation of the building. It is the greatest glorie well to keepe what wee haue got; but those gettings which are made with future losse and diminution of our proper strength, are contrarie to that Maxime. And seeing these acquisitions are as it were incisions or graffings, they ought to better, not to impaire the estate of our affaires: for as these incisions are vsed to make sower trees sweet, or vnfruitful plants fruitfull: So the enterprises of princes ought to be such, as bring foorth assared honor and profit, otherwise they are labours vnpromisable, pulling downe more then they build, and heaping to themselues more harme then honor, more trouble then

then safety. Of this kinde are those wars, which are waged to conquer kingdomes farre distant, having nothing neare ynto vs, but are so disioined, that they aske greater garrisons then reason, or our abilities are able to affoord, to defend them. Therefore let the resolution of euery expedition be laid on three groundes: first, that the quarrell be iust; secoundly, what hope and facilitie of conquest; thirdly, what gaine wilarise of victorie. For warre vndertaken without hope of assured fruit, is meere madnes: and many great captaines haue enlarged the bounds of their empires, but not increased their owne quiet and safeties. No prince made longer iournies and greater expences then the Great Duke *Iohn*: he vanquished the kingdome of Casan to Volga, and Astrachan vpon the Caspian sea: he subdued a great part of Liuonia. But what honor, what profit, or what continuance of securitie gained he by these victories? What was the end of this warre? In these expeditions perished infinite numbers of men, in iourneyng, in assaults, with the sword, with sicknes, with hunger and other extremities. When he had ouercome them, he was forced to maintaine great garrisons, yea to bring thither whole colonies: and besides, when men were so farre from their homes, either busied in getting other mens goods, or in keeping what they had got, their wiues staied at home like widowes without issue, and the inward parts of the realme remained emptie, as a hart void of blood, wanting his necessarie nutriment, whilst the inhabitants were wasted on the skirtes of the kingdome. And therefore when it was inuaded by king *Stephen* of Poland, these farre and remote forces were wanting to make resistance, and through this oversight he lost againe Pozouia, and other peeces of good reckoning, yea and inforced to leauue the whole possession of Liuonia to the Polander.

To retурne to our purpose; Moscouie for the most part is couered with woods & lakes: these woods are the branches of Hercinia, spreading it selfe through all the North, and perhaps more in this prouince then in any other. Here grow the goodliest and tallest trees of the world, through which for their thicknes the brightnes of the sunne beams can hardly pearce. An vnspeakable quātity of rosin & pitch distillett out of these

trees, and here is the neuer-wasting fountaine of waxe and honic. For without any industrie of man the bees themselues build their huies in the barks and hollownes of trees. Here is all plentie of cattell and wilde beastes, beares, martins, beastes called in Latine *Zibellini*, and woolues: whose skins beare high prices. Of the timber of these trees are squared all necessaries, as well for buildings as all other vses: the wals of their cities are framed of beames cut fower-square, fastened together, filling the chinkes and vacant places with earth. Of these beames likewise they build platformes of such height and thicknes, that they beare the weight of great Ordinance how maffie soever: they are subiect to fire, but not easily shaken with the furie of batterie. Some men maintaine great disputation, whether fortresses built of stone, chalke or earth be of greatest validitie. For the last these be their reasons: they are sooner built, with lesse charge, and make best resistance: when a breach is made, they are easiest repaired, and any part thereof (if chance, occasion or necessarie require) lightlier changed. But all these reasons notwithstanding, in my minde fortresses built of stone carrie the credit: for, seeing there are fower meanes to ruinate a fortresse, Ordinance, mining, fire and digging, peraduenture the stone wall may auiale as much in resisting, as the earthen in receiuing and deadding the bullet; but against mining, fire, the spade and pickaxe, without comparison the stone worke excelleth: and to raise platformis on the inside of the wall is all you can inuenient either defensiuē or praisewoorthe to a fortresse buile of timber and earth.

For waters, Moscouie is the mother of riuers and lakes, witnes Dunie, Boristhenes, Volga, Desna, Onega, Moscua, Volisca, and the famous Tanais, the lakes of Ina, vpon which standeth the great Nouograde, Voloppo, and many others. The abundance of these waters do make the aire colder then is requisite for the increase of cattle, or growth of plants, and although cold is thought more wholesome then heate, yet are their cattle of small growth thereby, and many times their fruits come not to ripening: the earth drowned with the waters for the most part becommeth light and sandie, and then either with too great drouth, or too much moisture, it destroie-

th.

eth the fruit. Winter lasteth nine moneths; idle more or lesse; & yet the soile bringeth foorth plenty of graine & feeding for cattle, and by consequence abundance of cattle tame and wilde. It bringeth foorth apples, nuts, and filberds: other kinds of fruits they scarcely know. Of fish they raise their greatest gaine, as hauing greatest abundance of that commodity; they drie them in the frost and winde, as in Norway and other northerly nations, and they lay it vp for store as well in their townes of warre, as for their priuate families. The kingdome is not full of merchants, because by nature the inhabitants are idle, and that prouince cannot abound with merchandise, where arts and artificers are not establisched. They haue not the vse of the sea, because it is not lawfull for a Moscouite to trauell out of his princes dominions: such, and such store of wares as they haue, as skins, rosin and waxe they barter for cloth and other commodities, which the Armenians bring to Attrachan by the Caspian sea, and the English to Saint Nicholas in the bay of Graduicur.

The gouernement of the great Duke is more tyrannicall than of any other prince in the world; for he is absolute lord and disposer of the bodies and goods of his subiects. Therefore *Mahomet* the Viceroy waswoont to say, that the Moscouite and the great Tarke amongst all princes of the earth were onely lords of their owne dominions, and in that regard thought the journey of king *Stephen* of Poland would prooue full of danger and difficultie. To preserue his maestie and reputation he vseth incredible policie and feueritie: first, it is not lawfull for any of his subiects to depart the realme vpon paine of death; and therefore no man there dare go to sea, no not speake to an ambassador, or vse the counsell of a forreine phisition without licence. He weareth apparel of inestimable value, ioyning the ornaments of a bishop to the maestie of a king, by wearing a miter on his head, shining with diaimonds and most rich stones: when he weareth it not on his head, he placeth it before his chaire of estate, and oftentimes changeth it, in boast of his riches: in his left hand he beareth a most rich croſier, apparelled in a long garment, neb much vnlke to that whiche the pope weareth when he goeth to. The Duke is Long
on Bishop m
Apparant

to masse: his fingers are full of gold rings: and the image of Christ and his blessed mother the virgin, are ouer the chaire wherein he sitteth. The priuie chamber and great chamber are full of men clothed in cloth of gold downe to the foote. In ceremonies of religion he vseth great deuotion & reverencie: at the table as often as a dish is changed, or he hath a desire to drinke, he maketh many signes of the crosse: he beareth singular regard to fasts, & in the church he kisseth the ground with his forehead, euen as others doe: That no man shoulde prooue a better scholler then himselfe, he suffereth no schoole but of writing and reading to be kept: they read nothing but the Euangelists, some historie, the liues of saines, a Homily of *John Chrysostome*, or some such like, yea they would hold him for an heretike, that should go about to professe himselfe better learned, and assure himselfe, he shall not escape punishment. Which is the reason that their Notaries, nay the Secretaries themselves commonly can neither write, nor answere ambassadors of forreine princes no farther then they are taught of the great Duke: when they negotiate, they no sooner name the great Duke, but all of them rise vp with great reverencie: the like is done at his table, when he drinketh or carueth to any man, and so in a thousand like casuallties: they are taught euen from their cradles to beleue and talke of their great Duke as of God: vsing these phrases in their ordinarie talking, *God onely and our great Seignior knoweth this: Our great Lord knoweth all things. All we imoy health and riches; all proceedeth from our great Duke.* For his subiects seeing such state and magnificence in their prince, and knowing no more then they are taught at home, reverencie and obey him as slaues, not as subiects, accounting him rather a god then a king. He hath not vnder him Lords graced with titles as we haue, dukes, earles, barons, &c. but he bestoweth vpon one a hamlet, vpon another a farme, and these not hereditary, vnlesse he confirme it: and when he hath confirmed it, the farmers notwithstanding pay him a portion of their fruits, and owe him villaine-seruice: which is the cause that every man dependeth on the will of the prince, and looke by how much the richer, by so much the deeper is he indebted vnto him. To
preuent

No Dukes, Earls
Barons in
Masconia

preuent rebellion, he transferret whol families and townes
ships from one prouince to another, and fendereth the one and
the other into garrisons, as into exile: so farre away are the
miserable people carried from their owne homes.

By this a man may gesse of his wealth and riches: for seeing he is absolute Lord of al, he vseth the seruice of their bodies at his pleasure, and what portion of their goods him listeth. Of the skins of wild beasts he challengeth what portion he liketh; and of every sort of fish, euen what he will. The skins are sold or giuen, as pleaseth him: the fish dried in the winde is kept for vitailing the garrisons. In the market no man may sell his wares before the king hath sold. He hath not any mines of gold or siluer. The best mare townes from whence he gathereth the greatest part of his reuenues, are Astrachan at the Caspian sea, whither the wares of the Persians and Armenians are brought; and Saint Nicholas, whither the ships of the English and Hollanders doe arriuue laden with cloth and other merchandize, which from thence are transported to Vologda. When his ambassadors returne, he taketh from them the presents giuen them by forrein princes, and instead thereof bestoweth vpon them some other reward, and many times nothing at all. To speake in a worde: he gleaneth whatsoeuer is good or ought woorth through his whole kingdome: it is thought that he hath great store of treasure in his castles of Mosco, Ieroslame, and the marshes of Albi, which may be true: for the great Duke John wasted in a manner all Liuonia, sparing neither relique, chalice, crucifice, nor any ornament of siluer: and of that which is once brought in, he suffereth no part thereof to be transported out of his dominions, vnlesse it be for the ransome of soldiers taken in the warre, or of other poore people carried into captiuitie. This is most true, that when he lost Liuonia, which king Stephen of Polahd reconquered in the yeere of our Lord 1582. he lost the richest prouince of his dominions for the traffike of the Baltike sea, and the best, for the strength of 34. castles standing therein.

The strength of the kingdome consisteth in the manifold numbers of riuers and marshes, and in the thicknes of woods. Besides,

The Duke is
absolute Lord of
Bodyes & goods
and a

Astrachan

Liuonia reconquered
1582.

Besides, they use to lay waste the parts nearest their enimies; that there the woods may grow thicker, which for the moisture of the soile quickly commeth to passe, & are as available as a wal or trench to the defence of the next townes. This policy brought great trauel to the Polanders, for they were constrained to loose much time in cutting down the woods before they could come to the inhabited places of their enimies. They haue a few fortresses, some built of stome, some of bricke after the Italian fashion, but without strength of moderne dyses or cunning workmanship. Such are the castles of Mosco, Nouograd, Plescouia, Porequia, Sloboda: some are wrought with twigs & earth wel troden downe, as Smolonck. But com- monly the wals of strong places are built of great beames stuf- fed with turffe or mosse, leauing loopholes for their shot. This fortifying is very available against great ordinace, but exceeding subiect to firing. They serue in the field (as we told you before treatyng of his government) rather bearing themselves valiantly for feare of punishment, then of their owne natures shewing alacritie or willingnes to the seruice. He hath his cap- taines at a becke; his soldiers suffer all extremities patiently; they care not for frost or raine; they indure hunger & scarcity with incredible concrement; they liue with a little; better able to defend a fortresse, then fight in field: for here courage and agilitie; there constancie and resolution are most serviceable, whereas the Polanders are better to fight in the field, then to keepe a castle. And therefore the *Great Duke John* finding by experiance the vnaptnes of his soldiers, & the readines of the Polonians in skirmishes and assaults, was wont to say, that his men had need of a spur to drive them forward, & the Polonians wanted a bridle to hold them back. His chiefest force is in his horse, but what number he can raise, who can shew? For I doe not beleue that he is able (as some say) to arme three hundred thousand, because though his Empire be large, yet for the greatest part it lieth vnmanured, as the many-dales journey betweene Cazan and Astrachan, and scarce meeting with one village in the way, may well witnes. In the war which king *Stephen* waged against him (being not aboue 60. thousand foote and horse strong) he was not able to raise so great a force,

force, I will not say, to meeke him in the open field, yea, not to hinder him from the forcing of Pozouia, Vilocoluc, and other pieces, no, nor to diuert him from the siege of Plescouia. In the yeere 1570. the prince of the Tartars with fourescore thousand soldiers pierced euent to the bowels of his kingdome, and set fire on his imperiall seat Mosco. Therefore I thinke that they that report, that the Great Duke can leuie three hundred thousand men, and the king of Polonia two hundred, do rather meane heads of horses then riders: for there may be so many thousand horse, and yet euerie one is not to be accounted a horse of seruice, no more then euery horseman a rider, or able to finde himselfe armour. One hath his hart in his hose; another wants abilitie; a third wants strength of bodie; a fourth both courage and strength: yea admit he could raise so many horse and men, as these men speake of, yet would it be a hard matter, perchance impossible, for him to assemble them in one place; or if he could, where would wages, or victuals be found sufficient to sustaine them. For 200.horsinen in Moscouie, require 300.packhorses, and so many tenders, who must all be fed; as likewise the victualers, the merchants, the artificers, and such seruants as can hardly be spared in warlike enterprises: To performe this, whole Moscouie must of necessarie be gathered into one place, and then it were to be feared, least in so great a iourney from one part of the kingdome, the other part opposite would run to ruine & decay. Likewise although such a proportion of horse, as hath beene spoken of, might be raised: it were not wisidome for the state to strip the borders of their garrisons; the prouinces of their sinewes; the cities of their magistrates; & the countrey of husbādmen. Therefore I conclude, that prince whose kingdome is able to affoord him 150.thousand horse, to be brauely furnished, if he can bring into the field but the third part: I speake of warre and not of incursions. Some more modest in writing affirme, that the Moscouite could leuie 150.thousand horse, if necessarie to defend himselfe, should constraine him thereto, and <sup>The Duke came
July. 1570. Monfau</sup> that John the third in the voyage of Astracan entayned ^{by Hors.} 120.thousand horse, and twentie thousand foote. The same king inuading Liuonia in the time of king Alexander, le- ^{120 thousand horse} uied ^{20 thousand foote}

wied a mighty armie, and kept another vpon the borders of the kingdome. The Great Duke *Iohn* adioyned to his troupes of horse certaine thousand of shot, most strangers, which yeelded him notable seruice in the defence of his cities. Euerie second or third yeere he renueth his soldierie throughout the prouinces, and keepeth a register of the sonnes of noblemen, and the number of his seruants and horses. The wealthier horsemen vse a curasse of brasle, a helmet light and thin; bucklers brought out of Persia, and lances: others are armed with lacks quilted with bombast to resist arrowes. These handle the bow, and many of them the harquebuse, all the sword and dagger. The Germanes serue them in the field, and the Italiens in their fortifications.

To the Duke of Moscouie are adioyning the Tartars Pre-copenses, the Taurici, the Chersonesi, the Circassii, and the Tartars Negayans. These people inhabite a countrey seuen daies iourney distant, and are gouerned by Dukes after the manner of the Heluetians. He hath receiued great inurie of the Pre-copenses without hope of amends, because they are confederate with the great Turke: and by him furnished with harquebusiers & ordinance; and haue in their kingdome many strong places fortified with Turkish garrisons; & therefore he thinketh it hard and dangerous to inuade them, being backed by the Turke, whose power he should stir vp likewise against him. It is the custome of the Pre-copi often vsed, to make iorodes into the prouinces of the great Duke, as likewise of the Polonian: and to carrie away whatsoeuer comes to hand. If the great Duke haue vanquished the Tartars of Cas-sani and Astracan, let him attribute the conquest to his great ordinance, which they wanted. This Duke led against the Cas-sani, an engine deuised on this fashion: he fastened to the sides of charriots a broad and large planke, bored full of holes, and fitted for the shooting of harquebusiers and musketers; with the which they did grieuously wound their eniuies, and could not be hurt againe by the arrowes of their aduersaries. By these helpeis it was no masterie to vanquish and subdue them. But the Pre-copi haue the vse of gunnes, and (woorth all the rest) the fauour and protection of the Turkish Emperor, who

who thirsting to open a way into Moscouie, or the Caspian sea, assaied not many yeeres since to dig a trench from Tanais to Volga: but his forces were put to flight by the Moscouites with the aid of the Tartars, who feared their vtter destruction if the Turke had brought that designtment to passe. This was a devise of greater courage then wisedome: for the Moscouites not onely defeated his nauie, taking part thereof, but put his land-forces to the sword, consisting of fourescore thousand Tartars, fiftie and twentie thousand Turkes, and amongst them three thousand Ianizars. As we said before, the Circassians ^{8000. Tartars} ^{5000. Turk.} ^{3000. Janizars} liue after the manner of the Swissers, they endeuour not to enlarge their owne bounds, but serue for wages, sometime the Turke, sometime the Persian, & sometime the Moscouite, from whose dominion they are so farre disioyned, that they stand in no feare of their seuerall mightines. The Tartars Negayans are more to be dreaded for their sudden inrodes, & furious incursions, then for ielousie of their forces, or that they are able to raise, or vndertake any voyage royall. Of late times they threatned the Moscouite, but their furie was appealed by sending them presents. It is the best course to hazard our money, rather then our forces against the thefts & spoiles of these barbarous natiōs: for when they haue neither city nor strong place to subdue, to keepe them in subiectiōn: what can you terme the warre made against them, but a labour with losse, a charge without profit? The great Duke is constrained to keepe great troupes of horse in Citrachan, Casan, and Viatca, against these Nagaij: as likewise a great garrison in Culagan vpon Danais against the Precopi. The next bordring neighbour by Finland side is the king of Sweueland. Of late times this king holding a long war against him, tooke from him by force the castles of Sorenesco, & Pernauia the great & the leſſe in Liouonia on the one side, whilst king *Stephen* cruelly vexed him with war on the other. In the vttermost bounds of the Finland Bay, the Sweuian to his great charges possesseſſeth the fortresse of Viburge, maintaining therein a great garrison to resist the attempts of the Russies, and the great Duke. Likewise in that sea and the coast adioyning, he maintaineth ſhips of warre, as well to be readie at all affaies against the approches of this

great Duke ; as likewise to forbid the Easterling the bringing of any munition or warlike furniture into any part of his dominions : neither doth he suffer other ships to saile in those seas, without a speciall placard signed with his owne hand. By the benefit of this nauie and sea force, the king of Sweueland wheresoever he findeth meanes to vse it, becommeth master of the field, & by vertue thereof ceaseth vpon many places on the coast of Liuonia, and the bordering territories : but where the Dukes horse and his great numbers of footemen may stand him in steed, as in the open field or places remoued from the sea, there he maketh his part good enough, and most commonly putteth the Sweuian to the woost. The best is, nature hath placed betweene them such rough mountaines, such cold, such yce, and such snowes, that they cannot greatly endammege one another.

The last neighbour is the king of Poland, betwene whom and the great Duke this is the difference : the Moscouite hath more territories ; the Polonian better inhabited and more ciuill : the Moscouite more subiects, and more subiect ; the Polonian better soldiers and more couragious : the Moscouites are apter to beare the shoke then to giue a charge ; the Polonians to charge : the Moscouite is fitter to keepe a fortresse ; the Polonian to fight in the open field : the Moscouites forces are better vnited ; the Polonian more considerate and better aduised : the Moscouite lesse careth for want and extremities ; the Polonian death and the sword : yea either nation is of the greater woorth, when either of their princes is of greatest valour and magnanimitie ; as it happened when *Basilus* conquered the great Duchie of Smoloncke and Poloncke, and the large circuite of Liuonia ; And againe, when *Stephen* king of Poland in his last warre against *Iohn (Basilus sonne)* reconquered Polonck, with diuers other places of good reckoning, besieged the citie of Plesko, and forced the Moscouite to leaue all Liuonia : whereby I conclude : such as is the valour and wisedome of the prince, such is the force and courage of his people.

The Great Cham.

AS our Ancestors were ignorant of the regions situated vpon the east side of the Caspian sea, which they imagined to be a branch of the Ocean: Euen so as yet little or nothing knoweth this Age, what regions lie, or what people inhabite beyond that sea, & the mountaines, commonly called Dalanguer and Vslont. *Marke Paule Venetus* was the first that broke the ice in describing of those countries, and of him haue we receiued what we know of the Tartars. For the great distance of countries, the difficultie of the iournie, and the inacessible situation of places, hath hindered the discouerie of those prouinces: for the great Duke of Moscouie (by whose dominions we may easiest trauell thither) will suffer no stranger to passe thorough his kingdome: the Caspian sea, a passage no lesse fitting for the iournie, is not frequented: and by the way of Persia infinite mountaines and vast deserts, diuiding both prouinces, oppose themselues against vs. And to the further hinderance of this discouerie, neither the great Cham, neither the king of China, nor the Duke of Moscouie will suffer any of their subiects to trauell out of their dominions, nor any stranger to enter in, vnlesse he come as an ambassadour, neither (in this case) is it lawful for him to conuerse freely or range at his pleasure.

They liue vnder diuers princes, the principall whereof are thole that weare greene on their turbants. These inhabite Shamarcand, and are at continuall enimie with the Persians. Next are those of Bochan, Mahumetans: then those of Mogor, of whom you shall heare hereafter; and lastly those of Cathay, whereof we now intreat.

Neuer wasthere any nation vpon the face of the earth, that enjoyed a larger emperie then they doe, or haue vnder-taken haughtier exploites: and I would that they had had some, who might haue recommended by writing their doings to the world.

M. Paule Venetus writeeth, that this people once inhabited Ciurga and Barge, prouinces situated vpon the Scythicke Ocean,

Prester John.

Changis. L

an, without citie, castell or house, wandering like the Arabians from place to place, according to the season of the yeere. They acknowledged *Vncham* (whom some interprete *Prester John*) for their soueraine Lord, to whom they gaue the tenth of their cattell. In processe of time they multiplied to such numbers, that *Vncham* being jealous of their neighborhod, began to lessen their number & forces, by sending them, now hither, now thither, vpon most long and desperate voyages, as occasion offered. Which when they perceiued, they assembled themselves, resoluing to leaue their naturall soile, and to remoue so farre from the borders of *Vncham*, that never after he should haue cause to suspect their numbers: this they performed. After certaine yeeres they elected amongst them a king, called *Changis*, to whom for the greatnes of his glorie and victories, they added the surname of *Great*. This *Changis*, departing from his owne territories in the yeere of our Lord 1162. with a most fearfull armie, subdued partly by force, partly by the terror of his name, nine prouinces. At last, being denied the daughter of *Vnchan* in mariage, he made warre vpon him, and ouercomming him in battell, cast him out of his kingdome. After the death of *Changis*, his successors afflicted Europe: In the yeere 1212. they drove the *Poloſochi* from the banks of the *Euxine ſea*. In the yeere 1228. they invaded and ſpoiled *Ruſſia*. In the yeere 1241. they razed *Kiouia* the chiefe citie of the *Rutheni*, and *Battu* their captaine wasted *Polonia*, *Sileſia*, *Morauia*, and *Hungary*. *Innocentius* the fourth amazed with the tempeſt of theſe invaſions, in the yeere 1242. ſent certaine friers of the orders of *Dominicke* and *Francis*, to the court of the great Cham, to intreate a peace for Christendome.

The circuit of this Empire in the times aboue ſpoken of, ſtretched from the remot bounds of *Asia* to *Armenia*, and from *Bengala* to *Volga*, yea their incuſions piercēd even to *Nilus* and *Danubius*. The *Macedonian* and *Roman* Empires were neuer ſo large. But becauſe they were rather runnagates then men of warre, wanting politike gouernment and militarie discipline, ſometime ruling one prouince, ſometime another, they rather wrought ſpoile and terror to the conquered nations,

nations, then feare of bondage or subiection, and at last seated themselves beyond the mountaine Caucasus. After it became diuided into many principalities, yet so that the title and maiestie of the Empire, remained alwaies to the great Cham, who (as we said before) tooke the originall of his name from the great *Changis*. At this day, this Empire reacheth from the desert Lop on the one side, and the lake Kitauia on the other, to that famous wall of China situate betweene 43. and 45. degrees, which leadeth from mountaine to mountaine, till it end at the Ocean, and diuideth the Tartars from the Chinois: and from the Scythian Ocean, to the confines of Tipura and the bordering regions.

In the foresaid compasse are contained many and mightie kingdome, and many puissant prouinces, as Tangut, wherein are the cities Succuir and Campian, built after the manner of Italie, Erginul, Carazan, Tebet and Caindu, the chiefe cities of prouinces. In the middest of the Empire is Tenduch, which in the time of *Paule Venetia* was in the iurisdiction of *Prester John*, but now subdued by the great Cham. The greater part of the people were Christians but Nestorians, the rest Mahumetans. Here is the citie Cambalu the imperiall seate, containing in compasse 28. miles, and neere vnto it Taidu situated vpon a lake, & containing in compasse 24. miles. Then Xaindu <sup>The palaces of y
great Cham</sup> the palace of the great Cham, being foure square; euery square containing eight miles, and fower gates. Within that square, ^{8 miles square} _{every way} is another palace, sixe miles square; in the middest whereof are three gates towards the south, and as many towards the north; from whence, as likewise from every corner you may behold the imperiall pallace. And within this circuit is yet an other square of one mile, having sixe gates like the former. Betweene every wall you may see meadowes and woods, and within this square is the Imperiall pallace, of whose pleasures, riches and magnificence, neither of his chases, fowlings and fishing am I able to write. This whole region for the most part is very populous, full of townes, rich and ciuill, which you may the rather beleue; first, for that the Tartars choosing this for their seate and countrie, beautified it with the spoiles of Asia, Chiga, and that part of Europe which they harried, and were neuer

neuer woon or taken from thence againe to this day: next, for that the prouinces are most commodiously situated for traffike and negotiation, partly by reason of their admirable plaines and huge lakes, amongst which are Cazaia (whose waters are salt) Guian, Dangu, Xandu, & Catacora: partly by reason of their large riuers, which with a long course do run by the prouinces of Curato, Polisango, Zaiton, and Mecon. *Paulus Venetus* calleth it Quion. A great helpe hereunto likewise is the variety of fruits, and the abundance of graine, rice, wooll, silk, hempe, Reubarbe, muske, and excellent fine chanblets wounen of camels haire. *Paule* writeth, that it affoordeth ginger, cinnomom, & cloues, which for my part I hardly beleue. In many riuers are found graines of gold. Their coine is not all of one value. In Cathaia a coine is currant made of the blacke rinde of a certayne tree, growing betweene the bodie and the barke. This rinde being smoothed, rounded & tempered with a gummie substance, is stamped with the image of the great Cham. In the kingdones of Caiacon & Carazan, certayne sea shels are currant, which some men terme Porcelline. This kinde of money is frequent in many places of India and Æthiopia. By this meanes the princes get vnto themselues all the gold and siluer of the prouinces, which they cause to be molten and laid vp in molt safe places, without euer taking any thing from thence againe. In like sort *Prester John* is thought to be Lord of an inestimable treasure, while he maketh graines of salt and pepper to passe for currant coine amongst his subiects. They brew an excellent beuage of rice and spices, which sooner procureth drunkenesse then wine. As the Arabians, so they delight in sower milke, or Cosimus, a kinde of charmed sower mares milke very forcible to turne the braine.

His force consisteth first (as we told you) in situation, in spacious territorie, in magnificent cities, in plentie of prouision, & in rich reuenues: for amongst many other things, he taketh the tenths of wooll, silke, hempe, graine, cattell, and is absolute Lord of all: but the chiefest sinewes of his state consisteth in his armed troupes which he keepeth in continual pay and action. These liue alway in the field, foure or five miles remote

from

from the cities. Ouer and aboue their salary, they are allowed to make profit of their cattell, milke & wooll. When he goeth to warfare, according to the custome of the Romanes, he mustereth part of that soldierie which lyeth dispersed through the prouinces. For the most part all the nations of the Tartars except the Varcheni, who are not subiect to the Great Cham, fight on horsebacke. Their weapons are the bow and arrow, which they vse as desperately in their flight, as in the charge. They are verie swift; their tents are made of wouen wooll, with which they shelter themselves from foule weather. Their chiefest sustenance is milke dried in the sunne after the butter is quealed out, yea the blood of their horses, if famine inforce. They fight not pel-mel with their enimes, but sometime on the front, sometime on the flanke, after the Parthian maner they ouerwhelme them, as it were with a showre of arrowes. Whosoeuer carrieth himselfe valiantly, stands assured of reward, and are graced with honor, immunitiess & gifts. Twelue thousand horsemens are appointed for the guard of the Prince, and it is said that of this kinde of force, he is able to leuie a greater power then any other potentate. Howsoeuer it be, two things in his kingdome are woorthie consideration: the one is, numbers which may be imagined by the spaciousnes of his dominions: the other, their discipline, because he keepeth them in continual pay. For as discipline rather then furie is to be wished in a soldier; so in armes, a few trained and experienced soldiers, are more woorth then many strong, huge of stature and raw. The one may well be compared to eagles, lions and tygres, which obtaine principalitie amongst other beasts; not because they exceed them in hugenes of bodies, for then should they be a pray to the Elephant, horse, and bufall; but because they excell them in swiftnes and nimblenes ioyned to the strength of their bodies.

Beside these things which *Marke Paul* writeth, certaine Englishmen sayling by the Moscouite sea, and the bordering regions haue pierced even to Cathaia, and haue set downe many memorable matters of this Prince, whom the Moscouite termeth the *Cesar* of Cathay, and the Turke Vluchain, that is, the Great Prince. And not without reason, for in magnificence

niſcience of courts, ampleres of dominion, abundance of treasure, & number of ſoldiers, he goeth far beyond all the kings and potentates of Asia, and raigneth in ſuch maieſtie, that his ſubiects fooliſhly call him the ſhadow of ſpirits, and the ſonne of the immortall God. His word only is a law, wherein conſiſteth life & death. He maintayneth iuſtice with admirabla ſerueritie, except for the firſt fault: for which the offender is grieuouly whipped: for euerie other fault, he is cut in pieces by the middle: herein it ſhould ſeeme they immitate the opinion of the Stoikes, concerning the equalitie of offences. A theefe is likewiſe ſlaine, if he be not able to repay ninefold, as well for a farthing as a pound. The firſt begotten ſonne is heire to the crowne, and iſtalled with theſe ceremoniies. The chiefe of their ſeven tribes clothed in white (which is their mourning colour, as likewiſe of the Iapans) cauſe the prince to ſit vpon a blacke woollen cloth ſpred vpon the ground, willing him to behold the ſonne, and to feare the immortall God; which if he doth perfrome, he ſhall finde a more plentifull reward in heauen then in earth; if not, that piece of blacke cloth ſhall ſcarcely be left him, whereupon to reſt his weareied bodie in the field, beſides a thouſand other miſeries that ſhall continually attend him. Then ſet they the crowne vpon his head, and the great Lords kifle his feete, ſwear fealtie, and honour him with moſt riſh giſtes. Then is his name written in golden letters, and laide vp in the temples of the metropolitan citie. He hath two counſels, the one for warre, wherein twelue wiſe men conſult: the other of ſtate matters, conſiſting likewiſe of as many counſellers. These manage all things belonging to ciuill gouernment, rewarding the good, and punishing the euill, taking eſpeciall care to ſee thoſe preferred, who haue done any good ſeruice, either in warre or peace, to his countrie and Emperor, and others ſeuerely puniſhed, who haue borne themſelues careleſly and cowardly in the charges committed to their diſcretion. In theſe two points, (that is, in rewarding & punishing) conſiſteth to high a policie of good gouernment, that it may well be ſaid, the greatest part of the barbarous princes by theſe two vertues only, imprint ſo maieſtical a reuerence in the harts of their barbarous ſubiects.

For

For what other face of good gouernment see you in the Turke, Persian, Mogor or Iariff? whom reward they but capaines and soldiers? where vse they liberalitie, but in the field amongst weapons? Surely they built the foundation of their state vpon no other ground-worke, nor hope for peace and quietnes, but by victorie and strong-hand: yea they haue no meane, in disgracing base mindes and cowards, and in honoring high spirits and valiant soldiers. Neuer was there common wealth or kingdome, that more deuised to honor and inrich the soldier, then these Barbarians, and the Turke more then all the rest. The Tartars, Arabians, and Persians, honor nobilitie in some good measure; but the Turke rooteth out the families of Noble men, and esteemeth of no man, vnlesse he be a soldier, committing the fortunes of the whole Empire to the direction of slaues and base borne, but with an especiall consideration of their fitnes and sufficiencie. Let vs returne to the Tartar, and his forme of gouernment. Astrologians are in great request in those prouinces; for *M. Paul* writeth, that in the citie of Cambula are fiftie thousand: and when *Cublay Cham* vnderstood by them that that citie would rebell against him, he caused another to be built neere vnto it, called Taindu, contayning fower and twentie miles besides the suburbs. There are also great store of fortune-tellers and nigromancers in the kings palace of Xandu, as also in China they are in high esteeme. *Ismal* king of Persia enterprised few matters without their councell, and it is no woonder that it carrieth such reputation in those places: for betweene the Caldeans and Assirians it tooke the first originall in those countries. The Turkes cannot abide it. The Roman Emperors did more then once banish it, and the professors thereof, out of their gouernments. I would to God the like might be done amongst vs Christians, for it is nothing else but a branch of Paganisme. To ende with the nature of this people, in outward shape they are vnlike to all other people; for they are broader betweene the eies, & bals of their cheeks then men of other nations be: they are of meane stature, hauing flat & small noses, little eies, broad faces, and eie-lids standing streight vpright, swartie of complexion, strong of constitution, patient of extremities,

tremities, excellent horsemen, and verie good archers. And as part of the Arabians inhabite cities, and are called Moores, part liue in the fields and mountaines, and are termed Baduini: so some of these Tartars dwell in cities, as the Cathaians, Bochars, and those of Shamarcand: others wander through the plaines, and are diuided into hords, and they are fwe in number, Zauolenhses, Costanenses, Præcopits, Nagaians and Koslacks.

The Great Mogor.

IT hath beene alwaies beleueed, that the territorie lying betweene Ganges and the riuier Indus, hath beene euermore subiect to great and mightie Monarchs. For (to be silent in matters of more ancient memorie) about the yeere of our Lord 1300. there raigned in the kingdome of Delos an Arabian Prince of the sect of *Mahumet*, nained *Sanosaradin* (as *Iohn Barros* reporteth) of so great power and strength, that he enterprised the conquest of Asia. Vpon which resolution forsaking those regions, in which Indus and Ganges take their beginnings, with a huge and mightie armie, by little and little he subdued those Princes and people which did oppose against him, vntill he pierced to the bounds of Canora, where it beginneth at the riuier Bate aboue Chaul, and stretcheth betweene Bate and the gulfe of Bengala to Cape Comorine. When he had woon so large and famous a territorie, resoluing to returne into Delos, he left *Abdeffa* his lieutenant in Canora. This man incouraged by the victories of his master, and presuming vpon his owne good fortune, bereaued the Gentiles of the greater part of Canora: and having gathered a most mightie and populous armie compacted of Gentiles, Mahumetans and Christians, after he had raigned twentie yeeres, he died in the height of his prosperitie, leauing his son *Mamudza* behind him; whom the king graced with his fathers regencie, vpon condition to pay him a yeerely tribute: which payment the yoong man neither regarded, nor shewed himselfe loyall to his soueraigne in many things besides. It happened that *Sanosaradin* dying in the warre which

he

he made against Persia, left behind him a sonne of such pusillanimite and so base a spirit, that *Mamusda* hereupon tooke courage to intitle himselfe king of *Canora*, calling the country *Deean*, and the people *Decaini*, that is, illegitimate. After this, he erected eighteene captainships, and diuided his dominion amongst them, assigning to euerie one his limites, only with this penaltie, to finde alwaies in readines a certaine number of footemen and horsemen.

To preuent future rebellion he did choose these *Captaines*, not out of the orders of his nobilitie, but from the number of his slaves. Nay more then this (to be assured of their loyaltie) he commanded that euerie one of them, should build him a house in his royll citie *Bider*, in which their children should remaine: and that once euerie yeere at least, they should make their appearance in his court.

But because all authoritie, which is not as well vnderproped with his proper vertues, as grounded vpon the affections of the people, is of small continuance; so happened it to this Prince: for his slaves and vassals hauing soueraigne authoritie put into their hands, made no more account of him then of a cipher, stripping him poore Prince without respect or reuerence of all his dominions, sauing his chiefe citie *Bider*, with the territorie adioyning. For euerie one of a Lieutenant, became an usurper of those states which were committed to his trust; the mightier alwaies oppressing the weaker: so that all in the ende became a pray to a few. Two of them are famous at this day: the one of them stretching his dominion to the borders of *Cambaia*; the other to the skirts of *Narsinga*: the first called by the portugals *Nissamalucco*, the other *Idalcan*. Either of them is so puissant, that in the yeere 1571. *Idalcan* belegered *Goa* with an armie of thirtie ffe thousand horse, threescore thousand elephants & two hundred and fiftie pieces of ordinance. *Nissamalucco* besieged *Chaul* with lesse forces, but better fortune: for though he did not force it, yet he brought it to an hard pinch, with the slaughter of twelue thousand Moores.

In those countries in which *Sano Saradin* began his empire, not aboue 70. yeeres agone, a great prince (whom the east people

people call the great Mogor (in the same sense as we call the great Turke) laid the foundation of a mightie empire; for as the king of Biarma in our times greatly hazarded the states of Pegu and Siam, and the bordering regions; euen so the Mogor turned topsie turuie the kingdomes lying on this side the riuier Ganges. The receiued opinion is, that they tooke their originall from Tartaria, and that they came from that coast, where the ancient Mollagetae, a people accounted invincible in armes, did once inhabite, and living as it were lawlesse, and vnder no gouernment, by inuasion of their neighbours, procured vnto themselues the soueraigntie of most spacious kingdomes. By the riuier Oxus they border vpon the Persians, and are at continuall enuitie with them, sometimes for religion, sometime for enlargement of the bounds of their empire. Their chiefe citie is Shainarcand, from whence came *Tamarlan*, and of whose bloud these Mogor princes do boast that they are descended. The predecessor of him (who is now prince of the Mogors) was very famous in the east; for in the yeere 1536. being sollicited by king *Mandao* of the north (from whom *Badurius* king of Cambaia had taken his kingdome) to aide him against the Cambaian, he is reported to haue brought with him an infinite number of soldiers, which we may conjecture out of that which *Maffeus* writeth of the armie of king *Badurius*: to witte, that this king had vnder his standard one hundred and fiftie thousand horse, whereof fife and thirtie thousand were barbed: the number of footemen was 500. thousand. Amongst these were fifteene thousand forreine soldiers, and fower-score Christians, French & Portugals: at which, by what meanes or by what way they should come thither, I do mightily woonder. Their Galleon (which they called Dobriga) suffered shipwracke in the channell of Cambaia. I know, that if these preparations and prouisions for warre, be compared with our forces of Christendom, they will hardly be taken for true: but we haue alreadie declared the caules, why the princes of the east and south may gather greater armes then we can, & consequently that those things which are spoken of their incredible store, and wonderfull prouision of furniture, may be answerable to their leuies

uies and proportions of soldiery. And as they are able to leuie millions of men (for arming and feeding them they take no great care;) so likewise do the prouinces affoord great plentie of prouision, and an inestimable multitude of warlike engines: for they carry nothing with them saue that which is necessarie and needfull for the warres: Wines, eates & such like, which cannot but with great expence, labour and trouble be carried along with armies, are by these men wholy omitted and vtterly reiected. All their thoughts tend to warlike prouisions, as to get brasse, iron, steele, and tinne, to forge peeces, and cast great ordynance; iron and lead to make bulletts; iron and steele to temper cymitars; oxen and elephants to draw their artillerie; graine to nourish their bodies; mettals to arme them, and treasure to conserue them.

They are all tyrants, and to preserue their estates, and induce submisshiuе awednes, they hold hard hands ouer the comminaltie, committing all government into the hands of soldi-ers. And to make these men faithfull and loyall, they ordaine them lords of all things, committing vnto their trust, townes, castles, & expeditions of great waight: but the expectation of the prince is often deceived by the rebellion of these vassals, for sometimes they vsurpe whole prouinces, and impose vpon the people all kinde of iniurie. But let good princes thinke it as necessarie to build their safetie vpon the loue of their subiects, as vpon the force of the soldier. Feare admitteth no securtie, much lesse perpetuitie: and therefore these tirants expecting no suretie at the hands of their subiects, trust wholy vpon their men of warre, flattering them with promise of li-bertie, and bestowing vpon them the goods of their subiects, as rewards of their seruice. So with vs the Turke strength-neth his estate with Ianizars, and as he coueteth to be beloved and fauoured of them (to that end bestowing vpon them the riches and honors of the empire) so they againe aeknowledge no other lord and master, I may very well say, father and pro-tector. And so many of the Malaber princes vsing and ac-counting the people but as beasts, lay all their hopes and for-tunes on the Nairs: the kings of Ornus, Cambaia, Decan and Achan lay all vpon the shoulders of these slaues. In a word, as

a lawfull and iust prince hath a great regard and singular care to haue the liking and loue of the people, by which being guarded and inuironed (as with a strong rampire) he is able to withstand all attempts: so contrariwise tyrants knowing themselues hatefull to the people, employ their whole studie how to winne the fauour of their soldiers and slaves, thereby to represtle innouations at home, and invasions from abroad. Seeing therefore the safetie and foundation of their greatnes is built vpon the ientertainment of their soldiers, as their Nairs, their Ianizars, free or bond, strangers or subiects, yea whatsoeuer they be, it must needes follow that onely actions of warre be the end and scope of all their cogitations, as likewise that they be very prodigall to keepe their estates very well furnished and appointed with soldiers and prouisions. And this reason I take to be a sufficient inducement to beleue these reportes of the king of Cambaia, and these other barbarous Indian princes. For (besides that I speake of before) it is reported, that with this armie did march a thousand pieces of ordinance, amongst which were fower basiliskes, euery one drawnen with an hundred yoke of oxen: fие hundred waggons laden with gun-powder and bullets, two hundred armed elephants; fие hundred vessels full of golde and siluer to pay soldiers wages; many princes and petie lords with their courtiers and followers, merchants, vittailers, artificers, and their seruants numberlesse. Notwithstanding this incredible preparation, hee was twise ouerthrown by *Marbumedio*: once in the territorie of the citie of Doce, another time at Mandao, from whence disguising his apparell to sauue his life, he fled to Diu. Being out of danger and feare, he sent ambassadors to *Soliman*, with a present esteemed woorth six hundred thousand crownes, desiring his aide and assistance in these warres. But afterward weighing in his minde, that his affaires required speedier succours, hee contracted a league with those Portugals, which were neerest adioyning: to make them his friends and partners of the warre, the composition was, that he should permit them to build a castell in the Iland of Diu. Now to speake of *Marbumedius*. His fortunes were not much vnlike to those of *Tamerlane*: for as this prince brought

terror

terror and feare vpon the inhabitants of Persia and Asia; so did that, no lesse innouation and trouble vpon India and the Orient: this defeated in battell *Baiazes* emperor of Turks, that ouerthrew *Badurius* king of Cambaia, and his armie farre greater then his owne: both of them had the surname of *Great*. When the Mogors vnderstood of the riches of India, and the fertilitie thereof, they neuer ceased by a continued course of victorie their armes and inuasions, vntil they had made themselves Lords of all the prouinces lying betweene Caucasus and the sea, *Ganges* and the riuier *Indus*: in this tract are contained 47. kingdomes. For *Adabar* the successor of *Marbume-dius* woon Madabar, with the better part of Cambaia. Of what goodly consequence this prouince is, may be imagined by the famous cities of Madabar Campana (so called for the situation vpon the top of an high hill rising in the middest of a spacious plaine) and Cambaia (a citie consisting of one hundred and thirtie thousand houses) as likewise by the populous host of king *Badurius*, his warlike prouision for such an armie, and plentie of graine to sustaine such a multitude. I assure you the world affords not a soile for all necessaries for the life of man (as rice, corne, pulse, sugar, oxen, sheepe, pullen of all sortes, and silke) more richer or plentifull then this prouince, wherein also there are reported to be sixtie thousand borroughes: which number certainly is very great and admirable. *Guicciardine* writeth, that in Netherland within the territorie of the 17. prouinces are contained 208. walled townes, and 150. borroughes, enioying the rights and priuileges of cities, and 6300. villages hauing parish churches. In Naples are 1800. of these some are townes, some but castles. In Bohemia are 780. townes, and 32. thousand villages. In France (as *John Bodine* writeth) there are 27. thousand borroughes hauing churches and bels, besides those in Burgundie, which in those times were not numbred amongst the townes of France. I write not this to induce a true and absolute iudgement of the power of any prouince by the number of parishes, for I knowe that ought to be made according to their greatnes, but yet their number maketh much to the purpose, as in both which, Cambaia may carrie the credite and esteeme of a most spacious,

populous and puissant kingdome.

Acabar also conquered the rich kingdome of Bengala; so that a man may truly say, that in this part of the orient there are three Emperors: one in Cambaia, the other in Narsinga, the third in Bengala: whereof Cambaia and Bengala farre exceed all the other prouinces in fertility of soile, & concourse of merchants: both riotously abounding in sugar, cotten wooll, catell, elephants and horses: in Bengala also groweth long pepper and ginger. The first, is watered and cut as it were into two halves by the riuver Indus, the other by Ganges, hauing two famous mart townes, Satagan and Catagan.

The great Mogor doth likewise possesse the kingdomes of Citor, Mandao and Delly, wherein he keepeth his court. He hath infinite store of horses, elephants and camels, as also all sorts of artillerie and warlike furniture, by meanes whereof, he is growen fearefull to the whole inhabitants of the East. It is written of him, that he is able to bring into the field 300. thousand horse, and that there are within his dominions fiftie thousand elephants.

Some man perhaps will aske, how it commeth to passe that this Prince (being so mightie, and his neighbours so naked, vnarm'd and poore) doth not get into his possession the dominion of the rest of India and the Orient? In this as in the former vnlikenhoods, the wisest man is soonest answered. There are many obstacles: one is, that as the spirit and bodie of man cannot endure in continuall trauell and motion (for that onely is proper to God and Nature:) so a continued and open paßage is not euermore giuen to the ambitious reaches of kings and Princes. Great Empires seldome feare forreine inuasion, yet oftentimes faint they vnder their owne weight. It is not destined vnto great things to stand alwaies at the highest, much lesse to increase: they haue their flood, but vpon a condition, that there follow an ebbe. They are lifted on high, but by the irreuocable decree of nature, that a fall succeed: yea & that themselues by themselues decline. The greater they are, the more subiect to mutabilitie: the larger the harder to hold and manage: they mooue but slowly, and of what effect celerite is in warre, who knoweth not? The greatest

test conquest carrieth the greatest enuie with it, and greatest care to conserue what is got, and yet not care but long continuance perfecteth these actions: and while time passeth, the neighbouring nations prouide (if not infest) for their owne safetie, yea most commonly by losse of time proceedeth the losse of victorious opportunitie. He that hath ouercome his enimie, standeth oftentimes in feare of his friend, yea of such as haue bin fellowes & partners with him in all his fortunes: so that to securse himselfe of these, & such like infinite casualties, he is constrained euен in the course of victory to sound the restraint, & surcease his designements. Againe, continuall victory make leaders insolent, soldiers mutinous, refusing to passe forward at the command of their generall, as it happened to *Alexander & Lucullus*. Great enterprises euен brought to their wished ende, enrich the purses of certaine priuate men, but leauie the Princes cofers emptie, who neuerthelesse must be at the charge to maintaine continuall companies, and keepe them in continuall pay; without which course, the cashed soldier is euer readie to follow any faction whensoeuer it shall be offered. Moreouer, this numberlesse armie, which *Mambuedium* led against the king of Cambaia, did not only waste the regions where through it passed and encamped, but likewise by devouring all things that the face of the earth yeelded, bereaued it selfe of the meanes, which nature in measure affoorded to euerie one to maintaine his life: and so it often happeneth, that those armies which in apprehension seeme invincible for their hugenes, are most commonly ouerthrown by famine, the forerunner of pestilence. For prooef hereof we haue seene the inundations of *Attila*, *Tamerlan*, and those barbarous nations stand on foote but a little space, whereas the Grecians, Macedonians, Carthaginians, Romanes, Spaniards and English, haue done great matters with meane armies. For things that are moderate last and indure, as small riuers, which what they cannot doe in one yeere, in two or more they finally accomplish; whereas immoderate and violent, are like vnto Torrents, making more noise and furie then hurt or hinderance, violently comming, and violently carrying themselues away. Therefore against such

mighty impressions, the surest safetie is, to draw the warre out in length, and onely to stand vpon the defensiu: for let such armies rest assured, that they cannot so long hold out, but they will wauer, either for want of prouision, scarcitie of coine, infection of the aire, or infirmities of their owne bodies. The other thing is, that prosperitie blindeth the winner, making him carelesse; aduersitie ripeneth the looser, and maketh him warie and industrious: so fortune changing her copie, the affaires of the winner decline, and the good successe of the looser groweth euerie day better then other. Besides, conquests are not perfected but by processe of time, and in processe of time old age creepeth vpon the persons of Princes, and how fit a crasie bodie, and a vigorous spirit nummed with olde age, is for the consummation of a conquered estate, the liues of *Iulius Cesar* and *Charles the first*, may stand for examples.

Lastly to answere those, who vnesle they be eie witnesses, will never be answered, let them know that nothing so much hindereth the iuasive ambition of this prince, as the nature of places. For Caucasus stretching it selfe into a thousand branches in those parts, incompasseth whole kingdomes with some parcels thereof: by some it runneth by the sides; to others, it is more defensiu: then any artificiall rampire: sometime it wholy shutteth vp passages, sometime it meaketh them inaccessible. These difficulties are more iniurious to the *Mogor* then to any other Prince, because the strength and sinewes of his forces consist in horse; which as they are of great consequence in Campania, so amongst hils and rocks they are of no seruice. Of this qualitie are the frontires of Persia, and the kingdome of Sablestan, on euerie side head in with that part of Caucasus, which the Grecians call Paropanise. Segestan is likewise so inuironed, that the riuier Il-mento (were it not for searching out infinite windings and turnings through naturall vallies) could hardly finde passage to pay his tribute to the famous Ganges. In Cambaia it selfe, where the Mogors are of such fearefull puissance, liue the Resbuti, not dreading them one whit, by reason of the strength of the mountaines. These Resbuti are the remainder of the Gentiles, that betooke themselues to the mountaines betweene Cambaia

baia and Diu, when the Mahumetans first entered these countries; and since that day by strong hand they haue preserued their libertie, infesting verie often the plaine countrey with their incursions. Other prouinces there are vtterly barren, not onely wanting water, but all necessaries else: of this kinde is Dolcinda, vpon the skirts of Cambaia, thorough which it is impossible to lead an armie. To these discomodities you may adde the losse of time, which Princes (being lords of ample and spacious dominions) are constrained to make in their voiajes. For the better part of sommer is spent before they can arriuue at their rendeuous with their horses halfe dead through trauell, and the armie halfe in halfe in number and courage diminished, yea winter ouertaketh them, comodious for their enimies, and disaduantageous for them. For they must lie in the field and open aire amongst mire & frosts, their enimies vnder a warme roofe, & holesome harbour. Wherupon wise princes, which haue beene to make long land-iourneies through diuers prouinces of diuers natures, for feare of such like discomodities, haue thought it best to prouide shipping, and to vse the oportunitie of riuers or sea, as did *Cesar Germanicus* in the warre of Germanie, after he perceiued that in the protracting of time (which was requisite for the marching of his armie) the greater part of his men and horses were idlie consumed by infirmities, labour, and the length of iourneies. But the Mogor is vtterly destitute of this aduantage: vpon one side he hath no hauen, on an other the Portugals are his iealous neighbours, who with two castles of great strenght, at Din and Daman, haue shut vp the whole gulf of the Cambaian sea. Finally, the puissance of their neighbours hath beene as great a controule to their furious inuasions, as any other naturall cause: viz. the king of Barma, who is nothing inferior in power and riches: for he is lord of so many kingdomes, and so fierce and warlike a people, and can bring such swariness into the field, that he is feareless of any his Tartarian neighbours. And as the Mogor ruleth fare and wide betweene Ganges and Indys, so doth this king betweene Ganges and Siam. As the one deuileth to offend; so by little and little the other waxeth wise to defend.

For

For by nature man is more prone to procure his owne safety, then ready by wrong to oppresse others, being alwaies more carefull to conserue, then forward to destroy. It cannot be expressed how ful of subtilitie, shifts, deuises, & industrie man is to defend him and his: for he vseth for his owne safegard, not that only which is properly defensiu, but euен that also which may be any way offensiu. Neither euer was there any instrument inuented for offence, but that the same might be turned to defence; of which kind are castles built of later times, and the deuises of moderne fortification. And therfore the closest castles are neuer accounted the best, because they which are forced to guard such places, are deprivued of the facilitie of offendynge the enimie by fallies, shot, wilde-fire, and such like: all which, and many other stratagemes were easily performed in an open hold. But of all inuentions, there is none more admirabe then that of fortification: for euен the termes thereof (as Curtains, counterscarps, parapets, trenches, vanuures, mines, and countermines, casemats, and such like phrases) are verie ingenious and mistical: for by this arte fewe soldiers haue resisted great armes; and a small place made tenable, hath wasted the forees and treasures of a myghtie Emperour: Aswell witnessed the fortunes of 800. Portugals at Damain vpon the coast of Cambaia, who by this arte scorned and deluded the whole forces and attempts of this myghtie Mogor.

The kingdome of China.

IN times past the kingdome of China hath beene farre larger then now it is. For it appeereth by their histories (containing the Annales of 2000. yeeres and vpwards) and by other of their manuscript Cronicles written in their owne language, (whose fragments are yet to be seene) that their kings were Lords almost of all the sea coast of Asia from the streight of Anian, to the kingdome of Pegu: the prouinces of Meletai, Bacam, Calan, Boraga, and other territories, situated vpon the north side of Pegu: where their monuments with their epitaphes & deuises are to be seene at this day. For in all the foresaid regions, the reliques of their ancient ceremonies, whereby

(whereby the knowledge of the Mathematiques, as the division of the yeere into monethes, the Zodiake into twelue signes, true testimonies of their emperie) are obserued and taught by tradition. Neither is the time long, sithence all those kingdomes accouited the king of China their soueraigne, sending their ambassadors with presents to his court every third yeere. These ambassadors ought to be fower at least, for before they could arriue at their iourneies end, some of them either by remotenes of place, difficult accesse of audience, or delay in dispatch, could not but surely die; those whose chance it was to scape, the Chinois in some set banquet would poison, & erect vnto them stately tombes, with the inscription of their names, the place from whence they came, & with the title of ambassadors: thereby (say they) to commit to eternitie the remembrance of the bounds of their empire. They inlarged their dominions no lesse vpon the Ocean, then vpon the continent. For they first of all invaded the Iles of the Orient; next them followed the Giaui; then the Malaccans and Moores, and lastly the Portugals and Castilians, who hold them at this day. But none of these nations were of equall power and magnificence to the Chinois: for besides the conquest of the bordering Iles (which in regarde of their numbers, their spaciousnes and fertilitie, were of great reckoning) they became Lords of the greatest part of all the inhabitable places in that vast Archipelago, even to Zeilan, where they left their speech & characters, as also they did the like vpon the opposite continent. We read also in the papers of certain Iesuits, that in one quarter of the Iland of S. Laurence, they found white people, which said that they descended of the Chinois. They first discouered the Moluccas, gaue names to the splices, & planted colonies in many of them, which to this present keepe their old names, as Batta China a Muar, Batta China, Mauri: Batta signifieth a towne, Batta China, a towne of the Chinois. It is likewise thought that the inhabitants of Iaua descended of them, & to speak truth, there is no great difference between their maner of living, clothing, building, industrie, traffik, & manuall occupations. But after the shipwrack of 80. vessels, and the losse of their people in the sea of Zeilan, comparing their profit with their

their losse, they resolued to trie no more such hazards, but to containe theselues within their owne bounds. And to cause this edict to be inuiolably obserued, they enacted, that none thereafter vpon paine of the losse of his head should offer to saile into those parts: the kings themselues did euer after abstaine from future invasions. For sithence they enioy a very earthly paradise, where nature and arte are at strife to content the inhabitants, where no good thing is wanting, but much superfluous and to spare; what mad men would consume their bodies and treasures in getting those things, which are more chargeable to get, then profitable to keepe? *Polibius* writeth, that vpon the same reasons the olde Cartaginians forsooke part of those things, which before they had conquered. The Romanes after they had suffered a greeuous losse of their best vessels in the second Punicke warre, in meere dispaire bid navigation adieu; but afterwardes perceiving that they who were commanders of the sea, were likely to prooue Lords of the land, built a new nauie, and at length saw the successe answere their lateſt opinions. Therefore can we not but ascribe this resolution of the Chinois rather to good conscience and aduisednes, then to wisedome or good policie. For ſeeing there can be no greater follie then to hazard our owne goods, vpon hope to gaine anotherſ, to waite the borders of our owne dominions to inuade our neighbours, to ſhed our owne blood vpon deſire to ſpill a ſtrangers: it is more honorable and worthe the office of a king, to content himſelfe with his owne right, rather then by wrong to poſſeſſ anotherſ. Content breedes ſtabilitie, conqueſt brings care to ſee to the conqueſted: therefore why ſhould any prince weare out hiimſelfe to inlarge his dominion, if inlargement doe not onely doe no good, but even ſpoileth that which was good before, making that vncertaine which before was certaine, and weakening that which before was ſtrong. Let a wiſe prince vtterly refraine ſuch iournies; if they bring not assured ſecuritie, and more then common profit. For ſecuritie is one ſcale wherein a ſtate hangeth, which, if the beame ſtand true, muſt onely aime at that which is likely to breed greater ſecuritie, and that is, the ſeiling vpon ſtreights, ſconces, paſſages, and ſit places to re-

mooue the enemy far away : In the other scale should hang profit, & that is, by conquering those prouinces which are rich or able to yeeld all kinde of prouision for liuing creatures and furniture for warre and shippinge.

But to returne to the Chinois. When this surrendre was resolued in full counsell, they set the people whom they had vanquished, free ; yet some of their good wils remained feodaries, shadowing their estates vnder the wings of their puissance, as the kings of Corea, Lequi, Canchinchina and Siam. And notwithstanding their retrat within their owne bounds, yet possesse they a dominion little lesse then all Europe : for from the North towards the South, it reacheth from 17. to 52. degrees, from the East to the West are 22. degrees. Pacquin, wherein the king keepeth his court is situated in 48. degrees. The Empire is diuided into fifteene prouinces, sixe maritime, ^{the boundys of} ^{the Chynas Empire} Cantan, Foquem, Chiqueuan, Pantora, Nanquij, the rest in-land, Quichiu, Iuana, Quancij, Suiuan, Fuquam, Car. sij, Xian- xij, Nonam, Sancij. The prouinces of Quinci, Cantan, and Foquem are diuided from the vplandish, with mountaines like the Alpes, but not aboue two daies iourney asunder. *Thomas Perez* the king of Portugals ambassadour made fower moneths iourney from Cantan to Nanquij, alwaies bearing northerly.

It is not so spacious, but it is as fertill: for it yeeldeth not only what is fitting for humane life, but whatsoeuer the delicate and effeminate appetite of man may lust after. Many plants yeeld fruit twice or thrice a yeere, and that not onely by the ^{fruyt twice or} temperature of the aire, but by the number of riuers and plen- ^{thrice a yeere} tie of waters, which doe both cause traffike through every corner of the region, and so water it on all sides, that it resembleth a most pleasant and delectable garden plot. Of this plen- tie there are two causes : one, the prodigall expences of the king in digging of trenches through the whole land; sometime ^{Trembles.} cutting through rockie mountaines, sometime damming vp deepe vallies to make them leuell with high mountaines, & to draine the waters of lakes and marshes : the other, for that the whole region is situated vnder the temperate Zone, and ^{temperat Zone} in no place, either by nature or mans industrie, wanteth moi- sture ; so that all creatures taking nourishment of heat and

moisture must needs here wonderously prosper: In no place plants may take larger scope to spread their branches, nor cattell larger walkes to wander in, then in this countrie. The last reason is, for that the idle are neither severely punished, nor altogether tolerated, every one is forced to doe somewhat, no foote of land is left vnhusbanded, nor drame of stuffe cast away vnwrought. Amongst all admirables, one thing is woorthie consideration, that in Cantan they keepe fower thousand whales to grinde corne and rice. In China every one is set about somewhat, according to his yeeres and strength, one laboureth with his hand, one with his foote, one with his eie, another must be dooing with his toong, those onelie who are impotēt in their limes, & haue no friends liuing to succour them, are prouided for in hospitals. That none may excuse themselues, in saying he can do nothing, every one is bound to learne his fathers occupation, which is the reason that the children (borne as it were tradesmen) learne their fathers occupations before they perceiue it, becomming in time most artificiall mechaniques. He that can not liue at lande, seeketh his maintenance at sea, (for that is no lesse inhabited then the land,) yea infinite households liue vpon the riuers in boats without comming to land for a long season. Some of these live by ferryng ouer people, some by transporting passengers and their merchandise: others keepe shops, other vessels of lodgings for merchants and trauellers. Whatsoeuer is needfull for clothing, for foode or nourishment, delight or ease of a ciuill life, is to be found in the midst of great riuers. Many nourish all sorts of poultrie, especially ducks in their vessels. To hatch the egges and nourish the yoong ones, they vse not the dams, as we do, but an artificiall heate, in a manner as they do in Egypt, especially at Cair. All night he keepeth them in his boat, & at morning sendeth them to feede in the fields sowed with rice, whence all day long hauing fed vpon the weeds, to the great good of the husbandman, they returne towards euening to their cages, at the sound of a little bell or cimbali. Many liue by carrying fish, both salt and fresh, into the high countries: for in the spring, when the riuers rise through thawes and land-flouds, so incomparabile

quantitie

Idle persons.

*4000 whalles to
grynd corne.*

*Innolent creatures
for.*

*Innolent households
like you Ryners*

*hatching Egges by
heat.*

quantities of sea fish do abound in the hauen or creekes, that the fishermen depart rather wearied then wanting. This fish the skippers buy for a small matter of the fishermen, and keeping them aliue in certaine vessels made for the purpose, they transport them into prouinces farre remote from the sea. There they are sold and preserued in pooles and stewes neere cities and great townes to serue the markets and tables of the Chinois all the yeere long.

Because it is forbidden any inhabitant to passe out of the land without leaue, and therewith neither but for a time limited, it must needs be that by the daily increase of people, the countrey be euen pestered with inhabitation. It hath beene obserued amongst themselues, that for every fve that haue died, seauen haue beene borne. The climate is so temperate, and the aire so wholesome, that in mans memorie any vniueriall pestilence hath not beene knownen to infest the ^{20. January} countrey. Notwithstanding least any man should thinke this ^{pe. viii. m. e.} people to enjoy all sweetes without some mixture of sower, you must note, that their earthquakes are more dreadfull to them then any pestilence to ^{ys}: for whole cities haue beene swallowed, and prouinces made desart by this punishment. ^{Earthquakes} ^{creauefull}. They choke vp the course of ancient chanelles, and make new, where were never any before, they lay mountaines leuell with the ground, making hauecke of the people. In the yeere 1555. a deluge breaking out of the bowels of the earth, devoured 180. miles of firme land, with the townes and villages standing thereupon: those which escaped the flood, lightning and fire from heauen destroied.

There are saide to be in China 150. cities, 235. great ^{China hath 150} ^{Cities} townes, 1154. castles, and 420. boroughes without wals, wherein soldiers are quartered: of villages and hamlets (some ^{235. great townes} of them conteining a thousand houssholds) the number is infinite; for the countrey is so couered with habitation, that all China seemeth but as one towne. They haue two metropolitan cities, Nanquin and Panquin. In Nanquin towards the north the king keepeth his court; Vnder the iurisdiction of the one are seuen prouinces, vnder the other eight. Both of them are so spacious, that it is a daies journey for a horleman ^{150. Cities} to

70. millions of
soules in China

Italy 9. millions

Germany 15. millions

France 40 millions

Spain 15. millions

Sicily 1. million

England 3. millions

Belgia 3. millions

300000

to ride from one end to the other. Of the number of inhabitants no certainty can be produced, but according to manuscript relations, and report of traellers, it is said, that the kingdome containeth 70. millions of living soules. This is an admirable report, and not to be beleued, if it be compared with the prouinces of Christendome, but surely something aboue conceite is to be credited to these spacious, populous, and barbarous nations. Let vs set the largenes of their prouinces, the circuite of their cities, their plentie and abundance of all things, and in all places, either prospering by nature or mans industrie, with their numbers and inhabitation, and we shall finde a countrey like inough to afford such a reckoning, cities and dwellings able to containe them, and nourishment sufficient to maintaine them. Italy exceedeth not nine millions: Germany (excluding the Swizers and Netherlands) not ten, and with the foreaid prouinces not aboue fifteene, which number peraduenture France may reach vnto. Spaine is farre inferior to Italy: Sicilie hath but one million, and three hundred thousand: England three millions, and Belgia as many, if by the continuance of the war in those countries that number be not much decaied. The Itali-
ans conceiting marueilous highly of themselues, thinke no prouince vpon the face of the earth for wealth and people comparable to Italy, but they forget, that as it is long, so it is narrow, and nothing wide or spacious, neither that two third parts haue not one nauigable riuere (a want of great consequence) neither that the Apenine, a mountaine rockie and barren, doth spred it selfe ouer a fourth part. Let them not deceiue themselues, nor condemne others plentie, by their owne wants, nor measure others exesse by their handfuls.

For fertilitie, doth France in plentie of graine or cattle giue place to Italy? Or England, for cattle, wooll, fish, or metall? Or Belgia, for number or goodnes of cities, excellencie of artificers, wealth or merchandise? Or Greece for delectable or comodious situation, hauens of the sea, or pleasant prouinces? Or Hungarie for cattle, wine, corne, fish, mines, and all good things else. But I will not stand vpon these discourses, onely let me tell you, that Lumbardie containeth the thirde

part,

part of Italy, a prouince delightson for battell plaines, and pleasant riuers, without barren mountaines, or sandie fieldes, and to be as full of people as the whole halfe of Italy besides. Yea, what may be said of Italy for profite or pleasure, that may not be spoken perticularly of France, England, Netherland & both the Pannonies? Wherfore sithence the countrey is not onely large, mightie, and spacious, but vnted, populous, plentifull and rich, at least let it be beleueed and accounted for one of the greatest empires that euer was.

The government is tyrannicall: for throughout the kingdome there is no other Lord but the king. They knowe not what an Earle, a Marquess or a Duke meaneth. No fealtie, no tribute or tolle is paid to any man but to the king. He giueth al magistracies and honors. He alloweth them stipends where-with to maintaine their estates, and they dispatch no matter of weight without his priuitle. His vassals obey him, not as a king, but rather as a God. In every prouince standeth his portraiture in gold, which is neuer to be scene but in the newe moones, then is it shewed and visited of the magistrates, and reverenced as the kings owne person. In like manner the gouernours and Judges are honored, no man may speake vnto them but vpon their knees. Herein the people shew their base mindes, making themselues the slaues (not the subiects) of the prince. Strangers are not admitted to enter into the kingdome, least their customes and conuersation shoulde breed alteration in manners, or innovation in the state. They are onely permitted to traffike vpon the sea coasts, to buy and sell vittaile, and to vent their wares. They that doe traffike vpon the land, assenble many together, and elect a gouernor amongt them, whom they terme, Consul. In this good maner strangers enter the kingdome, but alwaies awaited on by the customers and kings officers. The inhabitants cannot trauell but with licence, and with that neither, but for a prefixed season: and to be sure of their retурne, they grant no leaue, but for traffikes sake, and that in shippes of 150.tun and not aboue: for they are icalous, that if they shoulde goe to sea in bigger vessels, they would make longer iourneis. To conclude, it is a religious law of the kingdome, that euerie mans endeouours tend

*Principes gentium
tyrannicall.*

tend wholy to the good and quiet of the common wealth. By which proceedings, Justice the mother of quietnes, policie the mistresse of good lawes, and industrie the daughter of peace, doe flourish in this kingdome. There is no countrey moderne or ancient gouerned by a better forme of policie, then this Empire: by this gouernment haue they ruled their Empire two thousand yeeres: And so hath the state of Venice flourished 1100. yeeres, the kingdome of France 1200. It is two hundred yeeres since they cast off the yoke of the Tartars, after their ninetie yeeres gouernment.

For their arts, learning and policie, they conceine so well of themselves, that they are accustomed to say, that they haue two eies; the people of Europe, one; the residue of the nations, none. They give this good report of the Europeans, because of their acquaintance with the Portugals, with whom they traffike in Macao and other places, and the renoume of the Castilians, who are their neighbours in the Philippinæ.

By the multitudes of people (before spoken of) you may imagine the state of his forces, for herein all other prouisions take their perfection. But to speake somewhat in particular. The power of this Prince (remembering his contentment, and nature detesting all invasion) is more readie and fit to defend then offend, to preserue rather then increase. His cities for the most part are builded vpon the bankes of nauigable riuers, enuironed with deepe and broad ditches, the wals builte of stone and bricke, strong aboue beleefe, and fortifid with caualiers, and artificiall bulwarks. Vpon the borderstoward Tartarie (to make sure worke against such an enemie) they haue built a wall beginning at Chioi a citie situate betweene two most high mountaines, and stretching it selfe towards the east sixe hundred miles betweene mountaine and mountaine, vntill it touch the clifffes of the Ocean. Vpon the other frontires you may behold many, but small holds, so built to stay the course of the enemie, vntill the countrie forces be able to make head, and the royll armie haue time to come leisurly forward: for in 400. great townes he keepeth in continuall pay forces sufficient vpon the least warning, to march to that quarter whither occasion calleth. Euery citie hath a garrison and

and guarde at the gates, which at nights are not only fast locked but sealed, and may not be opened before the seale at morning be throughly viewed. To speake truth, their soldiers, horsemen and footemen, by land or sea, are more famous for their numbers, their gallant furniture, and plentie of prouision, then for strength and courage. For the inhabitants partly by their effeminate and wanton kinde of life, partly by their forme of government, whereby they are made *vile, base and vmbra*gious, haue little valour or manhood left them. They *Princes of
lets below* vse no forren soldiers, except those whom they take in warre: these they send into the inland countries, where being marked (to distinguishe them from other) they serue more like slaues then soldiers, yet haue they pay, with rewards for their good seruice, and punishment for their cowardize: true motimes to make men valorous. The rest, which are not intold, are not suffered to keepe weapons in their houses.

Their sea forces are nothing inferior to their land forces: for besides their ordinarie fleets lying vpon the coastes for the safetie of the sea townes, by reason of the abundance of nauigable riuers, and so huge a sea-tract full of hauens, creeks and Islands, it is thought that with ease they are able to assemble from fiftie hundred to a thousand great ships, which they *1000. great
ships* terine Giunchi.

To thinke that treasure can be wanting to leuie so great a number of ships, soldiers, and mariners, many men affirme, that the kings revenues amount to 120. millions of gold, which value although it may seeme impossible to him that shall make an estimate of the states of Europe with the kingdome of China; yet may it finde place of beleefe, if he do but call to minde, first the nature and circuite of the Empire, being little lesse then all Europe; next the populousnes of the inhabitants, accompanied with inestimable riches, then the diuersitie and plentie of mines of gold, siluer, iron, and other sorts of mettall, the vnspeakable quantitie of merchandise, passing from hand to hand by so many nauigable riuers, so many armes and inlets of the sea, their vpland cities and maritime townes, their toles, customes, and subsidies. For he taketh the tenth of all things which the earth yeeldeth, as *King's revenues
120. millions
of gold* barly,

barly, rice, olives, wine, cotton wooll, flaxe, silke, all kinds of metall, fruits, cattle, sugar, hony, rubarbe, campher, ginger, woad, muske, and all sorts of perfumes. The custome onely of salt in the citie Canto (which is not of the greatest nor the best traffike) yeeldeth 180. thousand crownes yeerely: the tenth
 Satis yecelth 180.
 theri and reuenue
 parteth
 of rice of one small towne and the adiacent territory yeeldeth
 more then 100. thousand crownes. By these you may
 conjecture of the rest. He leaueth his subiects nothing, saue foode
 and clothing. He hath vnder him no Earles, Lords, or Nobles
 of any degree, no nor priuate persons indowed with great
 wealth. Wherfore sithence this empire is so huge, and all the
 profits thereof are in his hands, and at his disposition, how can
 the former assertion of so great a yeerely revenue, to men
 of reason seeme any thing admirable? There are two
 things moreover which adde great credite to this reckoning,
 one is, that all his impositions are not paide in coine, but some
 in haie, some in rice, corne, prouender, silke, cotton wooll, and
 such like necessaries: the other is, that the king of 120. mil-
 lions which he receiueth, disburleth againe three parts there-
 of. And so sithence it goeth round from the king to the peo-
 ple, it ought to seeme no woonder, if the people be able to
 spare it againe for the princes vse at the yeeres end. For as wa-
 ters do ebbe as deepe as they flow, so impositions easily leuied
 suffice for the expences of the state, and the people receiuue
 againe by those expences as much as they laide out in the be-
 ginning of the yeere.

*Great Cham. enem
 to China*

The king of China feareth no neighbour, but the great Cham of Tartaria: all the rest acknowledge vassalage. Against this enimie the ancient kings built that admirable wall, so much renowned amongst the wonders of the Orient. Towards the sea he bordereth vpon the Iaponians and Castilians. The distance betweene Iapan and China is diuers. From Goto one of the Ilands of Iapan to the citie Liampo is three-score leagues: from Cantan 297. The Ilanders of Iapan doe often spoile the sea coasts of China by their incursions, descending on land and harrying the countrey, more like pirats then men of war. For in regard that Iapan is diuided into manie Ilands, and into diuers seigniories (ill agreeing amongst them-

themselues) though they excell the Chinois in armes and courage, yet are they not of sufficient power to performe any action of moment against them. Vpon another frontire lye the Spaniards, of whom the Chinois not without good cause are verie iealous, because of the situation of the Philippinæ (commodiously seated for the inuasion of China) and the faue of their riches well knownen to the Spanish. But the king of Spaine wisheth rather to plant Christianitie peaceably amongst them, whereof there was once good hope that God had opened a passage thereunto. For though the Chinois will suffer no stranger to enter within their dominions; yet certaine Iesuits (zealous in the increasing of the Christian religion) in a territorie, so spacious as that is, entered with great secrecie and danger, and obtayning the fauour of certaine governors, obtained a priuilege of naturalization, especially frier *Michaell Rogerius*, who in the yeere 1590. returned into Europe to aduise what course were best to take in this busines. About the same time intelligence was brought from two friers remaining there, that after diuers persecutions they were constrained to forsake the citie wherein they soiourned and had conuerted many, and to make haste to lea-ward. The Portugals are likewise eie-sores vnto them, but by the report of the iustice and moderation of *Ferdinand Andrada*, which he shewed in the gouernmēt of the Iland of Tamo, & by the traffike which they exercise in those seas, they can better digest their neighbourhood, then that of the Spanish. This was the first Portugal that arriued in the citie of Cantan, and set a land *Thomas Perez* legier for *Emanuell* king of Portugall. But other captaines being there afterwards disimbarked, behaved themselues so leudly, that they occasioned the said Embassador to be taken for a spie, and cast in prison, where he died most miserablie: the residue were entreated as enimies. At last it was permitted the Portugals for traffike sake to settle a factory in Macao, where againe before they had strongly fortifiēd their colony, they were constrained to submit to the limitatiōns of the Chinois, to whom in short time for their strength, wisedome, friendship and allians with the Castilians, they became suspicioſe: & therfore they do daily more & more bridle their

130 *The kingdome of Siam.*

their libertie of traffike, carrying so heauie a hand towards them, that they would faine give them occasion to leauie Ma-
cau of their owne wils, and retire backe againe into India,
from whence they came.

The kingdome of Siam.

Vpon the borders of China, (to speake nothing of Cau-
chinchina because we know nothing woorth relation
of that territorie) iouneth the countrey of Siam, ac-
counted amongst the great kingdomes of Asia. It tooke his
name of the citie Siam, situated vpon the entrance of the ri-
uer Menan : It is also called Gorneo. It stretcheth by east and
west from the citie Campaa, to the citie Tauai, in which tract
by the sea coast are conteined 500. leagues. Of which the
Arabians once vsurped 200. with the cities Paten, Paam, Ior,
Perca, and Malacea, now in the possession of the Portugals.
From the south towards the north it reacheth from Sinc-
Pura situate in degree, to the people called Gueoni in
29. degrees. The lake Chiamai is distant from the sea six hun-
dred miles : the vpland circuit stretcheth from the borders of
Canchinchina beyond the riuers Auan, where lieth the king-
dome of Chenca. Besides the lake of Chiamai, the riuers Me-
non, Menam, Caipuno, & Ana (which cause greater fertilitie
of graine through the whole region, then a man would be-
lieue) are all his. The better part of his kingdomes are muironed
with the mountaines Ana, Brema, and Iangoma: the resi-
due is plaine like Egypt, abounding with elephants, horses,
pepper, gold and tin. In the west part are huge woods, tygres,
lions, tinces and serpents. It containeth these prouinces, Cam-
baia, Siam, Muantai, Brema, Caipuno, and Chenca. The
inhabitants of Lai which border vpon the north of the pro-
uinces of Muantai and Caipuno, and are diuided into three
principalities, are vnder his obeisance. The first is that of Ian-
goma, the second of Cucrai, the third Lanca neere Chachin-
china. They inhabite a plaine and welthie countrey, into
which the Gueoni (*Marke Paul* calleth their countrey Can-
gigu) descending from the mountaines to hunt for men, make
oftentimes

of centimes cruell butcheries amongst them. The people of Lai for feare of these anthropophagi acknowledge the soueraingtie of Siam, but they often rebell, and obey as they list.

The wealth of the countrey may be conjectured by the fertilitie: for being situated in a plaine, and watered with most noble and famous riuers (like an other Egypt) it cannot but abound with plentie of all things. It bringeth foorth rice, ^{the Ritches of} graine of all sorts, horses, elephants, infinite store of cattle, ^{Siam} gold and tinne: siluer is brought thither by the people of Lai. By reason of this plentie, the people are drowned in pleasure and wantonnesse. They follow husbandry, but take no great delight in manuell occupations, which causeth the kingdome to be poore in merchandise. Amongst many other cities three are famous, Cambaia, seated vpon the riuer Menon: which rising in China, is so hugely augmented by the falling in of many riuers, that his owne chanell not sufficing for receit thereof, it renteth the earth to disgorge it selfe, into a thousand Islands, making a second Meotis more then 60. miles long. Meicon signifieth the capitaine, Menon the mother of waters. The second citie is Siam, whose statelines giueth the name to the whole countrey. It is a most goodly citie, and of admirable traffike, which may the better be imagined by the writing of a certaine Iesuite, who reporteth that besides the naturall inhabitants, there are more then thirtie thousand Arabian households. The third citie is called Vdia, ^{Setthosim. Arabyn} greater then Siam, consisting of fower hundred thousand families. It is said that two hundred thousand boats belong to ^{200000. boats} this citie, and the riuer Caipuno, whereupon it is seated. This ^{200000. boats} king to shew his maiestie and magnificence keepeth a guard ^{200000. beasts} of sixe thousand soldiers and two hundred elephants: of these ^{200000. beasts} he hath thirtie thousand, whereof he traineth three thousand for the warre. This is a great matter, if you weigh ^{200000. beasts} their woorth and their charges in keeping.

His gouernment is rather tyrannicall then kinglike: for he is absolute Lord of all the demeanes of the kingdome, and either setteth them out to husbandmen, or giueth them to his nobles for their maintenance, during life and pleasure, but neuer passeth the ^{right} of inheritance. He bestoweth vpon them

likewise townes and villages with their territories, but vpon condition to maintaine a certaine number of horsemen, footemen and elephants. By this policie without any pennie pay or burden to the countrie, he is able to leue twentie thousand horsemen, & 250. thousand footemen. Vpon occasion he can wage a greater number, by reason of the largenes of his kingdomes, and the populousnes of histownes. For Vdia onely (the chiefe seat of his kingdome) mustered 50. thousand men. And although he be Lord of nine kingdomes, yet vseth he no other nation in the warre but the Siamits, and the inhabitants of the two kingdomes of Vdia and Muantai. All honors and preferments are bestowed vpon men of seruice in this kingdome.

In times of peace they haue their warlike exercises, and in certaine pastimes which the king once a yeere exhibiteth at Vdia, are shewed all militarie feats of armes vpon the riuier Menon, where more then 3000. vessels (which they terme Paraos) diuided into two squadrons, skirmish one against the other. Vpon the land runne the horses and elephants, and the footemen trie it out at sword and buckler with point and edge rebated: the remainder of their daies they spend in riot and wantonnes.

Their borders towards the East reach to Canchinchina, betwenee whom are such huge woods, lions, tigers, leopards, serpents and elephants, that they cannot infest one another by armes. Towards the lake Chiamai they border vpon the Chi-nois. Towards the sea they affront the Arabians and Portugals. The one tooke from them Patan, Paam, Ior, and Peam, the other Malaca, and the territorie adioyning; so that betwenee them they bereaued him of two hundred miles of land: and contenting themselves with the sea coasts, and the customes arising vpon the carriyng out and bringing in of merchandise, they abstaine from further inuasion of the in-lond prouinces, and hold it good policie to keepe firme peace with the king and his countries. Toward the west lieth the kingdome of Pegu like an halfe moone, betwenee the mountaines of Brama and Iangoma. Towards the north lye the Gudoni, inhabiting the barren and sharp mountaines, betwenee

so many men
are stabled in the
city of 2500

full of water
running downe

Pegu regnus

tweene whom and Siam dwel the people of Lay. This people
is subiect to the crowne of Siam for feare of these Canibals, of
whom (if it had not beeene for his protection) they had long
agon beeene vtterly devoured. Not fortie yeeres since the
king made a iourney against them with twentie thousand
horse (their horse are small, but excellent good in trauell) 250.
thousand footemen, and ten thousand elephants; part un-
ployed for service, part for carriage. No kingdome hath grea-
ter store of these beasts, or doth more vse them. An innume-
rable number of oxen, buffals, and beasts of carriage followed
this armie, whom they slew when they wanted other proui-
sion.

Hitherto haue we deuised of Siam and Pegu (as they stood)
before the comming of the Portugals into India, but how in
proces of time the state was altered, you shall now heare. In
times past diuers kingdomes of Barma situated along the ri-
uer towards the lake Chiamai obeyed the king of Pegu vnder
the government of certaine Lieutenants. Sixtie yeeres si-
thence one of these captaines ruler of the kingdome of Ten-
gu, by the aide of his faction and reputation of his vertues, en-
tered into rebellion, and slaying the Nobles of the land, vsurped
the kingdome. Afterward he forced the cities, and conquered
the kingdome of Prom, Melintai, Calam, Mirandu, and Ana,
all inhabited by the Branians, for the space of one hundred
and fiftie leagues towards the north. He assaied likewise the
conquest of Siam; but comming before Vdia the chiefe citie
of the kingdome, he was forced to raise his siege and depart.
He vnderooke this iourney with 300. thousand footemen,
consuming more then three moneths in making way for his
armie through stonie mountaines, huge woods & inacceſſible
places; and in lieu for the losse of 120. thousand of his soldiers,
he tooke two hundred thousand Siamites prisoners. At his re-
turne home he invaded the kingdome of Pegu, and woone it.
Afterward in the yeere 1507. he renued his iourney against
Siam, and ouercame the king thereof, who slew himselfe with
poison, but he tooke his sonnes and with them the better
part of the kingdome. He belegerd Vdia with a million of
men and vpward. Our late writers call this man and his suc-
cessors 200. thousand
hors.
120. eleph.
Tengu 1507.
200. thousand
120. sonnes.
A myſtouſe
men.

cessors (because their fame arose by the conquest of the kingdomes of Brama) kings of Brama or Barmia, but the Portugals of a more sound judgement grounded vpon neerer neighbourhood, call them kings of Pegu.

And for that it may not seeme that what we write as concerning their infinite numbers, is either fabulous or reported altogether vpon heresay, because that now, heere before and hereafter we shall haue occasion to discourse of this point, we thinke it not amisse, to spend some time in shewing how & by what likelihouds, both in this and the other barbarous dominions such huge and numberlesse companies are levied and nourished. First therefore it is a ground infallible that populous armies, at home or abroad, cannot long endure without great reuenues, and a continual sea of readie money: for as the members of our bodie cannot moue without sinewes, nor motion auaille vs, if ioints were wanting; so without money an armie can neuer be gathered, nor being gathered kept together, nor resolutely lead foorth to any piece of seruice, if coine be wanting, which preventeth infinite mischances, and draweth after it armour, prouision, victuals, and whatsoeuer is necessarie for life or armes. And sithence the wealth of Princes, euen as of priuate persons (from whose purses they supply their occasion) hath limits and measure: Let them not thinke to begin any long warre, much lesse to continue it, ynellesse they throughly prouide aforehand, or are Lords of mines rich and inexhaustible: for great treasures are soone spent; and that which hath thriftily been gathered in peace, must prodigally be disbursed in warre: euen one yeare of warre wasteth the reprisals of many yeeres peace. Which moued a certayne Portugall captaine to tell king *Sebastian*, prouiding for his iournie into Barbarie, that warres should be performed

warr is p̄furnis̄d with three stremes; the first of men, the second of vittaile, the with 3. firewea, third of siluer. For all warres are exceeding chargeable, but thole most excellent and beyond opinion which are managed far from home. The great Turke in his Persian iourneies felt the smart hereof, who though he were so potent a prince, was notwithstanding constrained to raise the value of his coine, and abase the alloy, so farre foorth, that the Ianizars finding themselues

themselves aggrieved thereat, raised commotions, set fire on the citie of Constantinople, and rifled a great part thereof. Neither could the king of Spaine sustaine the burden of so many warres, and in so remote prouinces, if he trusted to no other supplies then those of Spaine, but Fortune hath giuen him a countrie prodigall in mines of gold and siluer, assuredly paying the expence of one yeere with the income of another. *Spayne rich.*

This clotheth and feedeth the soldier, bringeth them to a head, and maketh them to march cheerfully vpon all seruices. *John Iaques Triulce* being demanded how many things were necessarie in warre, answered three, Monie, monie, monie. But these grounds onely holde when the burden of the warre lieth vpon the purse of the prince and his people: for sometime it happeneth, that the soldier liueth vpon the enemies countrey, as did the Huns, Vandals, Gothes, Arabians, and in our daies *Tamerlane*. They entred the prouinces without controle or resistance, being vnprouided of forces, and made pray and spoile of whatsoeuer came into their reaches; they ransacked the cities, and fed vpon the villages. The like good lucke had the Portugals in the East Indies, and the Castilians in the West, but the one far better then the other: for neuer any nation conquered with lesse cost so much as the Spaniards haue done in New Spaine and Peru. But let not any people thinke to doe so in these daies, no not in Asia or Afrike, much lesse in Europe, where the vse of great ordinance is in perfection, and the arte offortification so ingenious, that one castell shall be able to sustaine, yea well prouided, to weare the forces of the greatest potentate. The Turks at Zigeth (a small castell in Hungarie) approoued this, which in the yeere 1566. *Soliman* belegered with three hundred thousand *one castell of 14,000 soldiers* men of warre, and at last forced, but with so great a slaughter of his people, that scant the third part of this huge armie returned to their houses. In like manner the Portugals in the beginnings of their Indian acquisitions, with a few soldiery and in little time woon admirable victories; but when the Barbarians began to grow acquainted with artillerie, to allure Carpenters and Matons to build them castels, and to arme vessels to sea, their courages became calme, and there let an end to their

their *plus ultra*. The like did the Spanish in the new world, to their *Non sufficit orbis*. For after their first good fortunes they found in Noua Hispania, the Chichimechi, and in Peru the Pilcosonij, the Ciriguani and the Luchij, people so well prouided to stop the furious course of their former victories, that si- thence, in twenty seuen yeeres space they haue not beene able to adde one foote bredth to their new emperie. In the vale of Aranco, Tecapel, and the kingdome of Chile, when the inhab- itants saw them to be wounded and slaine with the strokes of their arrowes and swards, they neuer afterward vouchsafed them their former reverence, nor carried the woonted con- ceit of their immortallitie: and now being beaten by exper- ience, they feare not the cariere of the horse, nor the terror of the harquebuse.

If the warre be at or within our owne doores, then is it easie to leuie strong and populous forces, as we reade of the Cro- tons, Sibarites and Gauntois, who made head against the pow- er of France with fourescore thousand fighting men. For when the warre was made in these populous countries and neere at hand; euerie man made one in the medle, gallantly armed, and well prouided with furniture and victuall to hold out certaine daies: but when the warre continued longer then expectation, for want of money and foode euerie man retired, one to the plough, another to his shop, the rest to those trades, whereby they sustaine themselues and their fa- milies. The Scots for want of wealth neuer made famous iourney out of the Iland, but at home they haue lead mightie armies for a short time, either to reuenge wrongs or defend their frontires: euen as did the Romanes for certaine ages, warring with their neighbours at their priuate charges. They tooke the field euerie man prouided with victuall for two or three daies, and in one battell and few howers finished that warre. But in the iourney against the Veij, the warre conti- nuing beyond opinion, the State was inforced to procure pay for the armie. That armies may far easier be gathered in the east and in Africke, then in Europe: the reasons are many. Those regions for the most part are more plentifull and copi- ous of all necessaries for humane life: the people of the south

Scots never
made toward
but went out of their
Iland.

are better contented with little then we : their diet is spare and simple, onely to maintaine life and not excesse : but the Europeans must eate and drinke, not to sustaine nature, but to comfort the stomacke and expell colds. Wine which with vs is deerer then bread, is not to be found amongst them ; their waters are better then our drinke. Cookerie is in no such request with them, as with vs, nor their tables accustomed to such cates : their banquets are onely furnished with rice and mutton. Neither doe the people of the east spend a quarter of that clothing which we doe : they goe to the warre halfe naked, hiding nothing but their priuities : they stand not in need of that number of worke men which we doe, amongst whom the greatest part of our life is spent in weauing and deuising stoffes and fashions to cloath the carkasse and adorne the bo-die, with cloath, silke, colours and imbroderies. All their expences are onely vpon cloathing of cotton wooll, and that but from the nauell to the knee. These are the reasons which I meant to lay, why they may gather fortie thousand men with more ease, then we ten ; and to these may be added this as the last, that vpon ordinance and their furnitures ; vpon prouisions and their carriages ; vpon horses, pioners, and a thousand like necessaries, infinite summes are expended ; of which the people of the east are vtterly ignorant, especially those which haue not to deale with the Portugals or Arabians. They goe to the warre without armour, without curases, helmets, lances, or targets, which with vs cannot be conueyed from place to place without great expence. *Virgil calleth this, luggage, iniustum fascem,* because it seemeth a needles trouble : and therein we degenerate much from the ancient Roshanes, who for ten daies iourney and more, carried euerie mans his proper weapons both offensiuie and defensiuie, yea and sometimes his victuals. What should we speake of the armies of the As-siriens, and Ethiopians, of Belus, Ninus, Siuniramis, Cambises, Cirus, Darius, Sesostris & Sefacus, were they not as huge and populous by the report of all histories, as these whereof we intreat ? Or in times lesse ancient haue not we and our ancestors scene the Arabians, Tartarians and Turkes inuading prouinces with armies of three hundred thousand people and

vpward. By moderne examples and memorie of later accidents to giue credit to the ancient, I will set downe what hap-
pened in Angola (a noble & rieh prouince of the west Ethiop
adioyning to Congo) reported by the letters of certaine Ie-
suits and Portugall captaines. In the yeere 1584. *Paulus Dia-
zimus* by the fauour of God and valour of his people, vpon the
second day of Februarie put to flight the king of Angola, and
defeated his armie, consisting of one million and two hundred
thousand Moores: which may well prooue that these popu-
one armie of one
million & 20000
men
lous armies are of litle seruice and small continuance, rather
like violent stormes, then dripping shewers; and though with
ease they are gathered, yet without greater prouision then
any prouince is able to affoord them, they are not easily held
together. When their prouision is spent, they begin to break,
and bid adue to the action; and that most commonly not in
the middest of their course, but euen in their first remoues:
for merchants, victualers, tailors, shomakers, smiths, and such
like follow not their warres: and if they should, then this in-
conuenience would follow; that for one million of soldiers, it
were necessarie to prouide another million of wagons, packe-
horses, carters, carpenters, victualers, merchants and their ser-
uants, and then, neither riuers would serue them for drinke,
nor the fields with bread, nor the earth for lodgings: so must
they needs sinke vnder their owne waight, which the eastern
Princes (leading these vnaccustomed numbers vpon long
iourneis) in some sort forecasting, did alwaies prouide incre-
dible masses of money, victuall, and such like warlike prouis-
ons, long before they entred into action: as was well seene in
Xerxes, who to maintaine that great armie, as well at sea as at
land, which he led for the conquest of Greece, spent seuen
yeeres in preparation for the iourney.

To retурne to the king of Barma: of late yeeres he tooke
the hauens of Martela and Pernasor; and turning his armies
sometime towards the north, sometime toward the west, he
vexed the Princes of Caor and Tipura, tooke the kingdome
of Aracan and Macin, leading vpon this iourney 300. thou-
sand men, and fortie thousand elephants.

Aracan is a kingdome round inuironed with mountaines
and

and woods as with a wall or trench: the chiefe citie which giueth the name to the countrey is situated vpon a riuers fifteene leagues from the sea, and 35. from Catagan.

Macin is a kingdome abounding in Aloës: this wood which the Arabians call Calambuco, and others *Lignum vita*, for the sweete sauour is valued by the people of the east at the waight in siluer. In India and Cambria they vse it at the buriall of great Lords, in bathes and in other wantonnes. It groweth most frequent in the rough mountaines of Campa, Cambaia and Macin. That which is brought to vs is in no esteeme with them: the right is found (say they) in Congo and Angola and the bordering countrey, and vised by them in all their grieuous and dangerous maladies; whch if it be true, I maruell that the Portugals will let slip so precious a commodity.

Narsinga.

IN the rowe of these potent princes inhabiting betweene Indus and Ganges dwelleth the king of Narsinga. Whchesoever lieth betweene the mountaines Gate & the gulf of Bengala, betweene the promontories Guadauerne and Comorin for the space of 200. leagues, abounding as prodigally (as any other prouince in the Indies) with all good things, is vnder his dominion. The waters sometime falling from the mountaines, sometime from the riuers, and receiued into trenches, meres and lakes doe wonderfully coole, moisten, and inrich this land, causing the graine and cattell to prosper aboue imagination. It is no lesse plentiful of rice, birds, beasts wilde and tame, buffals, elephants, and mines of precious stones and mettals. It breedeth no races of horse for the war, but they buie them of the Arabian and Persian merchants in great numbers: the like doe all the princes of Decan. Within the bounds of Narsinga dwell ffeue nations different in language; he hath many strong places vpon the Indian Ocean. Canora is at his command, wherein are the hauen townes of Mangolar, Melind, Batticala, and Onor: but the Portugals receiue the custome of Batticala, and in times past of Onor.

interdict

T 2

In

In Narsinga are two imperiall cities ; Narsinga and Bisnagar : by reason whereof he is termed sometime king of Narsinga, sometime king of Bisnagar.

It is vndoubtedly beleueed, that this king receiueth yee-
 12. millions of
 Darby yearly
 ly twelue millions of ducats, of which he laieth vp but two or
 three, the residue he expendeth vpon the troupes of his sol-
 dierie, that is to say, fortie thousand Nairs, and twenty thou-
 sand horsemen kept in continual pay. Vpon necessarie he is
 able to leuie a far greater number : for besides these allowan-
 ces he setteth out certaine lands to 200. captaines, vpon con-
 dition to keepe in readines a proportion of horsemen, foote-
 men, and elephants. The wages of these captaines (to some of
 whom he giueth a million of ducats yeerely) may be an argu-
 ment of his great reuenues ; for to these projects, this prince
 and all the potentates of the East, keepe in their possession all
 the profits of the lands, woods, mines, yea and the waters of
 pooles and riuers through their whole dominions. No man
 may wash himselfe in Ganges (which runneth by Bengala)
 nor in Ganga (which watereth the land of Orissa) before he
 hath paid tolle to the king. The king himselfe is now inforced
 to buie this water, causing it to be brought vnto him by long
 iourneies, vpon a superstitious custome, either to bathe or
 purge himselfe therein. He is absolute Lord of the bodies and
 goods of his subiects, which he shareth to himselfe and his cap-
 taines, leauing the people nothing but their hands and labour:
 of lands the king hath three parts, and his captaines the resi-
 due. Wherupon sithence all these barbarous princes main-
 taine not peace and justice, as arches whereupon to lay the
 groundworke of their estates, but armes, conquest and the
 nurserie of a continual soldierie, it must needes followe that
 they are able to leuie greater troupes of horse and foote then
 otherwise we were bound to beleue. But to induce some
 measure of credit, let vs compare the abilities of some Chri-
 stian princes, with theirs. If the king of France were absolute
 Lord of all the lands and profits of his whole dominion (as
 these men are) it is thought that his yeerely reuenues would
 amount to 15. millions, and yet therein are neither mines of
 gold nor siluer. The clergie receiueth sixe millions, the kings
 demesnes

francis. 15.
 narsinga. 6.
 million yere

deimesnes amount to one and an halfe, the residue is theirs ^{the k. deimesnes} who haue the inheritance, and yet the peazants liue wel here, ^{one halfe. P} in comparison of the villagois of India, Polonia and Lithuania. Besides this the king hath eight millions of ordinarie revenue, ^{8. millions p} arising of customes and escheats. How mightie a prince would ^{8. millions p} he be, if he were landlord of the deimesnes and rents of the whole kingdome, and should employ them vpon the maintenance of soldiers, as doth the king of Nar singa? Surely where- as now the kings reuenues doe hardly suffice for the mainte- nance of fower thousand men at armes, and six thousand crof- bowes; if this allowance were added to the former, he might as easily maintaine 150. thousand.

To retурне to Nar singa : the king to see that his captaines ^{A muster out} performe their duties, once a yeere proclaimeth a muster, whereat they dare not but be present. At the muster day those who haue presented their companies defectiue either in number or furniture, are sure to be cassed : but those who bring their companies complete and well armed, he honoureth and aduanceth.

What forces may be gathered out of so ample a dominion (armed after their manner, as aforesaid) you shall gather by that which *John Barros* writeth of the armie which king *Chris-*
maras led against *Idalcan* in the iournie of *Raciel*. These are his words verbatim. Vnder sundry captaines the armie was diuided into many battailions: In the vantgard marched *Cama-*
raique with one thousand horse, 17. elephants and 30. thou-
sand footmen. *Tiarabifar*, with two thousand horse, twentie
elephants, and fiftie thousand footemen. *Tsmaipanique*, with *A great Army*
three thousand horsemen, and 56. thousand footemen. After
them followed *Hadainaque* with fise thousand horsemen, fiftie
elephants, and one hundred thousand footemen. *Condo-*
mara, with six thousand horse, sixtie elephants, 120. thousand
footemen. *Comora*, with 250. horse, fortie elephants, and 80.
thousand footemen. *Gendua*, with one thousand horse, ten ele-
phants, and thirtie thousand footemen. In the rereward were
two eunuches with 1000. horse, 13. elephants, and forty thou-
sand footemen. *Betel* one of the kings pages led 200. horse,
twentie elephants, and eight thousand foote. After all these
*Note the
beginning*
followed

followed the king with his garde of sixe thousand horsemen, three hundred elephants, and fortie thousand footemen. Vpon the flanks of this battell went the gouernor of the citie of Bengapor with diuers capitaines, vnder whose colours were 4200. horse, 25. elephants, and sixtie thousand footemen seruing for wages. Vpon the head of the battell ranged 200. thousand horsemen in small troupes, like our vancurrs, in such sort and order scowring the countrie, before, behinde, and on all sides, that no noueltie could so suddenly happen, but notice thereof was giuen at the Imperiall tent in a moment. Twelue thousand carriers of water, and twenty thousand light hus-wifes followed this armie. The number of lackies, merchants, artificers, scullions (they call them Maniati) oxen, buffals, and carriage beasts, was infinite. When the armie was to passe any riuier knee-deepe before the foremost were passed, there was scant remaining sufficient for the latter whereof to drinke. Before this iournie the king sacrificed in nine daies 20736. head of liuing creatures, as well of birds as beasts, the flesh whereof in honor of his idols, was giuen to the poore. The soldiers were clothed in garments of cotten wooll so close and hard quilted, that they would beare out the thrift of a lance or sword. Euerie elephant was trimmed in a couering of cotten wooll, with a frame on his backe bearing fower men. To their tusks were fastened long and broad swords, to cut in sunder whatsoeuer stood in their way. The footemen were armed with bowes, iavelins, swords and bucklers. These last the better to couer their whole bodies, and to manage their heauie bucklers carried no offensive weapons. In the fight when the king perceiued *Idalcan* by the furie of his great ordinance to make hauocke of his men, and disinay the residue, leaping into the head of the battell, is reported to vse this prince-beseeching incouragement: Beleeue me, my companions, *Idalcan* shall rather boast that he hath slaine, then ouercome a king of Narsinga. With which words and ensample his soldiers all inflamed, and ashamed of their cowardize, with a furious charge broke the enemies aray, and put *Idalcan* to flight. Amongst other spoiles they tooke fower thousand Arabian horses, one hundred elephants, fower hundred great peeces, besides smal.

The

The number of oxen, buffals, tents and prisoners was inestimable. With *Idalean* were fortie Portugals, with the king of Narsinga twentie. In his raigne two of his captaines rebelled; *Virapanai* vsurped Negapatan, and *Venepasir* the territorie adioining to Matipura.

Calecute.

THE most noble part of India is that which lieth betweene the mountaine Gate and the Indian Ocean. It stretcheth from Cape Comerin to the riuers Cangiercor, three hundred miles long. In this prouince raigneth the king of Calecut, who though he may not be compared to the princes aboue spoken of, for number and power, yet for pleasant and plentiful situation, he may be saide farre to surpassee them. For the region is so cut (as it were) into many parcels, sometime by creekes of the sea, sometime by riuers, and sometime by lakes, that nature (as it should seeme) would haue it diuided into seuerall prouinces, as Trauancor, Colan, Cochin, Crangonor, Calecute, Tauo & Canonor. Seuen yeeres agone *Pereimal* king of all Malabar ruled these prouinces, who after he became a Mahumetan, and resolued to trauell to Meca, there to spend the remnant of his daies, diuided the land into many principalities, but with this prouiso, that all soueraigne authoritie should rest in the king of Calecute, with the title of *Samori* ¹⁴³², which signifieth Emperor, or as some write, God on earth. Although the reputation of this king be much eclipsed by the Portugals, partly by diversion of traffike from his countries, and partly by asisting his rebels and vassals (the kings of Tauor and Cochin) and though his title of *Samori* be little regarded, yet maintaineth hee his woonted maiestie in very good sort amongst the Barbarians. Calecute is 25. leagues long: Malabar in the broadest place exceedeth notten.

The citie of Calecute (from whence the prouince taketh his name) is three miles long, situated vpon the sea side. It containeth but few houses, and those of little woorth, not aboue ten, fifteene, or twentie nobles rent by yeere, which is the common rent of all the housing of the East Indies, if the Arabians

bians or Portugals be not dealers therein. The inhabitants liue vpon rice, palmito, cattell and fish. Their riches consist in ginger and pepper, which draweth yeerely a great masse of treasure into the hauen of this kingdome. The Arabians were Lords of this traffike for many ages, till the Portugals setting light by the incredible dangers of a long nauigation, arrived ^{Portugals.} in the east Indies there not aboue 100. yeeres since, and bartred their wares for ^{about 100. y. 2. 2. 8} pepper and other commodities of the land. And as the Portugals enriched the townes of Cochin, so did the Arabians Calecute and that kingdome. For this commoditie is of such consequence, that it not onely enricheth the prince with presents and customes, but in such sort so augmenteth the state of the merchants, that some of them are comparable to many dukes in Europe and kings in Afrike.

In their wars in Malabar they vse not the seruice of horse, not onely for that the climate breedeth none, (for those that they haue are brought out of Persia and Arabia) but for that the nature of the countrey is not fit for horsemanship. For as in Sweuia the footemen vse no pikes, and the horlemen no launces for the thicknes of the woods, which maketh them vnserviceable, so in Malabar because of the streights, riuers of the sea, and marshes, they seldom vse horses, so that all their forces consist in shipping and footemen. It is strange to see how readie the soldier of this countrie is at his weapon; they are all gentlemen, and termed Naires. At seuen yeeres of age they are put to schoole to learne the vse of their weapons, where to make them nimble and active, their sinewes and ioints are stretched by skilfull fellowes, and annoyned with the oile of Sesamus: by this annoyning they become so light and nimble, that they will winde and turne their bodies, as if they had no bones, casting them forward, backward, heigh and low, euen to the astonishment of the beholders. Their continual delight is in their weapon, perswading themselves that no nation goeth beyond them in skill and dexterite. Euy one inureth himselfe to that weapon, whereto he findeth his bodie most agreeable. Their ancient weapons were the Iauelin, the bowe, and the sword; but after the comming of the Portugals, they learned so exactly the mixture

ing of mettals, the casting of great ordinance, and the practise thereof, that (some say) their artillerie and powder surpasseth ours. They go to the warre all naked saue their priuities, neither vsē they head peeces, which is the reason that in fights and skirmishes they shew exceeding agilitie, charging & reti-ring more like falcons then soldiers. When a man would take them to be farre off, he shall see them houering round about him in a trice, so that it is as dangerous to follow them flying, as to deale with them fighting. They are swift as leopards, and their flight as much to be feared, as their charge. If they come to hand strokes (which they will not do but vpon necessitie or aduantage) they vsē altogether to strike with the point. They binde copper or siluer shingles to the hilts of their swords, the sound whereof in steede of drums and trumpets encourageth them to the encountre. They wil lie so close vnder their bucklers, that you shall not see any part of their bodies lie open to danger. There are one kind of Nairs (called Amochi) which accuse themselues, their kinred and posteritie with most bitter execrations; if they leauie iniuries done to their societie vntreuenged. If their king happen to be slaine, so much the more furious runne they through fire, water, and assured destruction to reuenge his death. And therefore the kings of India suppose their estates weake or strong, as they perceiue the numbers of those Amochi to be few or many. By the lawe of the countrie they may not marrie, but they are all allowed women in common. They maintaine those women very well according to their birth and degrees. They must be all gentle-women, for the Nairs may not take any countriewomen, yea so great is their disdaine and pride, that without ill vsage they will not indure any of the common people to come neere them. In their iournies they send their seruants before to the Innes and villages to declare their masters approch; then must all trauellers depart and giue roome. If it be thought in Turkie, that by licentious libertie in time of peace, the Ianizars become more hardie and couragious in warre: what may we deeeme of these Nairs, who will not indure a man of meane calling to looke them in the face? They inhabite no townes, but dwell in houses made of earth intuoroned with hedges and strong intuor woods,

woods, and their waies as intricate as into a labyrinth.

Of what force this kingdome is, may be gathered by the armie of sixtie thousand soldiers, and two hundred vessels of warre, which he leuied 1503. against *Edward Pacheco* the king of Portugals captaine, taking part at that time with the king of Cochin: this warre lasted almost fife monethes. In the yeere 1529. with an armie of one hundred thousand he belegered the fortresse which the Portugals built in Calecute, vnder the keeping of *Ioba Lima*. In this siege he spent a whole winter, wherein although the Portugals behaued themselues very valiantly; yet weighing the kings forces and their owne possiblities, they thought it best to destroy it with their owne hands. In the yeere 1561. he besieged Ciale with 90. thousand men, and tooke it by composition. He hath more then once gauen an instance of his power at sea. He is Lord of many haunes, whereunto great numbers of shipping doe resort, and in that regarde, cannot choose but be well furnished with a great nauie. But in goodnes of shipping and martiall discipline we must needes confess the sea-forces of all the Indian princes to be far inferior to those of the Portugals; whose dominion (both at sea and land) nothing hath so much augmented, as their defensiuē warfare. To speake truth, it seldometh falleth out, but the naked man feareth the sword, and the armed more encouraged thereby, bearing himselfe bolder vpon his skill then his strength, and prevailing more by temporizing, then in ioyning foote to foote by rash fighting, whereas the Barbarians putting more confidence in their numbers then goodnes, haue alwaies wanted that vertue, which should make armes dreadfull and fortunate, and that is good order and warlike discipline.

The kingdome of Persia.

Persia, and the Persian glorie, hath beene often obscured, first by the Arabians (who to bury in obliuion the memorie of their former reputation, enacted by law that they should no more be called Persians, but Saracens:) then by the Tartarians lead by *Chingis*, and lastly by *Tamerlan* and his

his followers. But not long before our times by the vertue of *Ismaell Sopby* (of whose originall and fortunes for the better vnderstanding of the state and historie of Persia, it shall not be amisse to deuile) the kingdome regained his ancient splendor. When *Mahomet*,^{Mahomet} after the decease of his first wife (who adopted him her heire) by her riches and his new superstition had gotten him a name amongst the vulgar, he married for his second wife *Aissa* the daughter of one *Abubacer*, a great rich man, and of high authoritie in those quarters. By this mans countenance, and the friendship of *Omar* and *Ottomar* his kinsemen, he gathered together a great rable of Arabians, and partly by faire meanes, & partly by colour of religion, he became master of many of the bordering townes: and about the same time gaue *Fatime* his daughter by his first wife to *Haly* his cosin; and to him after his death, all his earthly substance, making him the head of his superstition, with the title of *Caliph*. *Abubacer*, by whose countenance *Mahomet* became gracious, taking in ill part the preferment of the yoong man, by the aide of *Omar* and *Ottomar* (whose desires were in hope of succellion by reason of the old mans yeeres, and for kinreds sake, rather to see *Abubacer* then *Haly Caliph*) began openly to resist *Haly*, and to spoile him and his wife *Fatime* of all the substance which was left him by his vncle. *Abubacer* died: *Omar* and *Ottomar* succeeded. *Omar* was slaine by a slau; *Ottomar* in a priuate quarrell: after whose decease *Haly* succeeded. Against him rose *Manie*, who accusing him as accessarie to the death of *Ottomar* his Lord, caused him to be slaine neere *Cafe*, a citie within two daies iourney of *Babylon*, where likewise he lieth buried. The place is called to this day *Massadall*, that is, the house of *Haly*. After his decease the inhabitants of *Cafe* proclaimed *Offan* the sonne of *Fatima Caliph*, but him likewise *Manie* resisted, and slew by poyson. Then was he absolute *Caliph*, and after him his sonne *Iazit*. *Offan* left behinde him twelue sonnes, one whereof was called *Mahomet Mahadin*. The Moores say he neuer died, but that he shall returne againe to conuert the world, and therefore they keepe alwais readie in the mosque of *Massadella*, a horse gallantly furnished, where in their copperie they affirme that this

worlds conuersion shall there first begin. Vpon these differencies of *Haly, Abubacer, Omar, Othomar, & Manis*, haue mighty factions of armes and opinions arisen amongst the sectaries of this new superstition. The Persians labour to prooue *Haly* true *Caliph* by the last will of *Mahumes*; the Arabians stand as stisly to the three first. When from the yeere of our Lord 1258. to the yeere 1363. the Moores had no *Caliph* (*Mustapha Mumbala* the last *Caliph* being slaine by *Allacu* king of the Tartarians) a certaine noble man in Persia named *Sophi*, Lord of Ardeuell, deriuing his pedigree from *Haly* by *Musa Corefin* his nephew, and one of the twelue sonnes of *Osfan*, in memorie of whom he altered the forme of the Turbant, by his vertue and valour woon great credit and estimation to his new faction.

To him succeeded *Adar* the sonne of *Guine*, to whom *Afsebbeg* a powerfull Prince in Siria and Persia gaue his daughter in marriage. But his sonne *Iacobbeg* fearing the power and estimation of *Adar*, caused him to be slaine, and deliuered his two sonnes *Ismael* and *Soliman* to his captaine *Amanzar*, willing him to cast them in prison in *Zaliga* a castle in the mountaines: but *Amanzar* detesting the tyrannie of his Lord, conueyed the children to his owne house, and brought them vp like gentlemen amongst his owne sonnes; and falling sicke of a deadly disease, forecasting what might happen after his disease, gaue them horses and money, willing them to fie, and to betake themselues to their mothers house and tuitiōn. *Ismael* the eldest was no sooner returned to his mothers place, but he vowed reuenge for his fathers death, and after some fortunate expeditions, tooke vpon him the cause and protection of the followers of *Haly*, from whom he deriuēd his pedigree. He made the turbant higher, and sent Ambassadors to all the orientall Mahumetans, to exhort them to vnitie in religion and cognisances. By these meanes and fortune of his armes, he became a terror to the east, and slew *Offan* then usurper of the Persian estate with his ten brethren, except *Marabeg*, who sauēd himselfe and fled to *Soliman* the first, Emperor of Turkes, imploring his aide. This *Ismael* at the lake *Vay* ouerthrew with a great slaughter the Prince of the Tartars.

Tartars Zagatai, and in heare of this victorie had paſſed the riuer Abbian, if his Astrologian in whom he greatly truſted, had not foretold him, that his paſſage ſhould be proſperous, but his returne infortunate. He leſt to his ſonnes a moſt ſpatious Empire, bounded with the Caſpian ſea, the Persian gulfes, the lake Sioc, the riuers Tygris and Oxus, and the kingdome of Cambaia; which prouinceſ containe moſe then twentie degrees from eaſt to weſt, & 18. from north to ſouth. And al-though theſe kingdomeſ lying within theſe bounds held not immeadiatly of the crowne of Perſia, yet all acknowledg'd the Perſian for their oueraigne Prince, that is, the kings of Ma-cran, Patam, Guadel and Ormus. The Georgians diſfollow their fortunes; ſo diſ Media, now caſled Siruan, Dierbechia, once Mesopotania, Cufiſtan the habitation of the Sufiani, Farsitan the countrey of the Perſians, Straua once Hircania, Pathia at this day caſled Arac, Caramania now Chermain, Si-geſtan, Carafla, Sableſtan, and Itigiu, whose anciēt naſmes were Drangia, Bactria, Parapamifus, Margiana. Of theſe re-giōns, theſe which lie neareſt to the Perſian ſea are moſt plen-tiſfull, by reaſon of the riuerſ euerie where diſperſed through the whole land. Amongſt theſe riuerſ the moſt famouſ is Bin-dimir, to whose waters the inhabitants are muſt beholding, conuayiſg it by trenches and other inuenſions into their grounds, to theiſ great eaſe and commoditie. The prouinceſ lying vpon the Caſpian ſea, for their riuerſ and temperature doe likewiſe paſticipate of the ſaid fertilitie, eſpecially all theſe quarters which are waſered with the riuer Puly-Malon, falling into the lake Burgian: the reſidue of the prouince is drie, by reaſon whereof towneſ & viſageſ are ſeldome ſene in theſe places, uñleſſe it be by ſome ſpring or waters ſide. The moſt ample and maſtineſt cities of Perſia are Itigias the chiefe ſeat of Bactria, thought to be one of the pleaſanteſt ci-ties of the eaſt. Indion, the chiefe ſeat of Margiana, ſituated in ſo fat and fertill a territorie, that therefore *Antiochus Soter* cauſed it to be walled about. Candahar, the chiefe ſeate of Paramifus, famouſ for the traffike of India and Cathaio, whi-ther the merchants of theſe countries do reſort. Eri the chiefe *Five ſomer* *wig 20. 4* ci-ty of Aria, ſo abounding with roſeſ, that thereoſ it ſhould ſeeme

seeme to take the name. *Barbarus* saith, it is of thirteene miles compasse. Ispaa the chiefe seat of Parthia, is spacious that for the circuite thereof, the Persians hyperbolically terme it, the halfe world. Chirmain is the chiefe seat of Carainania, renowned for the excellent cloth of gold and siluer wrought therein. Eor is a noble citie, and so is Custra of Susiana. But all these for beautie and magnificence may bow and bend the knee to Siras seated vpon the riuers Bindimire. It was once the chiefe seat of Persia, and as some thinke called Persepolis. *Alexander* the great burnt it to the ground at the intreatie of his Concubine; but afterward being ashamed of so vyle an action, caused it to be reedefied againe. It is not at this time so great as in times past; yet it is thought to be one of the greatest cities of all the Orient, with his suburbs contayning twentie miles in compasse. It is a prouerbe amongst the Persians, *quando Suars erat Siras, tunc Cairna erat eius Pagus*: yet they account it not verie ancient, neither are they of their opinions who will haue it the head of Persia. Tauris and Calfbin are most famous cities; and besides their magnificence may glorie that in them the kings of Persia keepe their courts.

The forme of gouernment amongst this nation is not like the gouernment of any other Mahumetan people; neither is there to be seene the like policie in any place through the whole east, as amgost the Persians. Al the rest hate nobility, & depending vpon the faith and seruice of slaues do either murder their brethren, or put out their eies. But amgost these people, nobilitie is honored: the king entreateth his brethren kindly and magnificently, and they allow in their dominions many noble, rich, and mightie Barons, of which sort there is not one to be found through the whole Ottoman dominions. They likewise grace gentilitie, and highly esteeme their seruice on horsebacke: they delight in musick and learning, they studie poesie, and therein become excellent. They giue their minds to Astrologie: all which good parts the Turks do vtterly reiect and despise. Merchandize and Mechanicall trades are fauoured in Persia, and in all kinde of ciuilitie and curtesie excell the Turkish.

The security of this ſtate conſiſteth rather in proweſſe then numbers; they maintaine three ſorts of ſoldiers: one ſort the king keepeth in continual pay, and alwaies about his owne perlon. The ſecond is the Timarotes, (for this kingdome like-
wife as doth the Turke, in lieu of wages allotteth certaine quantities of land to great numbers of horſemen.) The third are Auxiliaries, which ſerue for pay, and those are onely Georgians and Tartarians. To ſpeakē of the two firſt (the eſſenti-
all ſinewes of this king and kingdome) they are all horſemen. For where princes reliē onely vpon the valour of the gentrie, there is little regard had of the footemans ſeruice; the like reaſon may be giuen for their want of ſhipping. For althoſh on the one ſide lieth the Caspian, and on another the Persian gulfs, yet to this day were they neuer owners of any warlike ſhipping. If they chance to ſaile vpon the Caspian (a ſea eight ^{the Caspian ſea} hundred miles long, and ſixe hundred broad) they dare not ^{800 miles long} venter into the maine, but houering by the ſhore, timerouly ſaile from one place to another. Of the Persian ſea the Portugals are lords. It aboundereth in metall of excellēt fine tem-
per, eſpecially in the prouince of Cazan. They haue not the uſe of artillerie, neither the Arte of defending, besieging, aſ-
ſaulting, mining, or intrenching of fortrefles, and all because they want the ſic of footemen, to whom the ſees of ſer-
vice do properly belong, as it doth to horſemen to fight in plaine and open field. Besides theſe wants, they are infiſted with two other inore greeuous miſchieves: and thoſe are ciuill diſſentions arifing of the greatnes and diſſoialtie of their Sul-
tans, with the length of iourneies, and the ſcarcitie of nauigable riuers. Those riuers which they haue are not frequented at all, or at leaſtwise ſo little, that ſmall eafe arifeth thereby. They fal all into the Caspian or Persian ſeas. The Inland regions are ſandie, and vtterly deſtitute of water. How can then the for-
ces of that land make any commodious or ſpeedie rendeuous when halfe the land is drie and barren? in ſo waste a tract not one riuer ſeruing for nauigable tranſportation, as doth the Loir in France, Poo in Italy, Viſtula in Poland, Sbeild in Flan-
ders, and ſuch like in other kingdomeſ.

There are alſo many deſerts and many mountaines diſ-
ioyning

ioyning the prouinces farre in sunder: Hertein it resembleth Spaine, where for want of nauigable riuers (except towards the sea coast) traffike is little vsed, and mountaines and prouinces lie vñmanured for scarcitie of moisture. But nature vñwilling that humane life should want any easement, hath so prouided for mutuall commerce in these sandie and barren places, that through the labour of Camels the want of nauigation is richly recompenced throughout Persia, and the bordering countries. These beasts carrie woonderous burdens, and will longer continue then either horse or mule. They will trauell laden with one thousand pound weight, and will so continue fortie daies and vpward. In sterill and deepe sandie countries (such as are Lybia, Arabia, and Persia) they drinke but once every fift day, and if extremitie inforce, they will indure the want of water ten or twelue. When their burdens are off, a little grasse, thornes, or leaues of trees will suffice them. There is no living thing lesse chargeable and more laborious, certainly ordained of nature a fit creature for those sandie and deepe places of Asia and Africke, wherein euен man himselfe feeleth the want of foode and water. Of these, there are three sorts: vpon the lesser men trauell; the middle sort haue bunches on their backs fit for carrying of merchandise: the greater and stronger are those which carry burdens of one thousand pound weight.

What numbers of horsemen this king is able to leuie, was manifested in the warres betweene *Selim* the first and *Ismael*: betweene *Ismael* and *Soliman*, and betweene *Codabarda* and *Amurash*. Not one of them brought aboue thirtie thousand horse into the field, but so thoroughly furnished, that they had little cause to feare greater numbers. The richer and abler sort armes themselves after the manner of our men at armes, the residue, being better then the thirde part of their Caualrie content themselves with a skull, a iacke and cemiter. They vse the launce and the bow indifferently. Touching their riches, the common opinion is, that in the daies of king *Tamas*, the yeerely reuenues amounted to fower or five millions of gold, who by a sudden doubling of the value of his coine raised it to eight, and accordingly made paiment to his souldans and soldiers.

diers. But in these daies by the conquest of the great Turke they are much diminished, and it is thought that they amount to little more then two millions : but the feodarie landes, townes and villages(which are very many) supply a great part of the pay due to the companies of the horsemen aboue mentioned.

Towards the East bordereth the Mogor, vpon the North the Zagatai. Towards the West the Turke possessteth a large frontire : vpon the South lieth Ornus, and therein the Portugals. With the Mogors he is little troubled: For as Spaine & France by reason of the narrow streights & difficult passages ouer the mountaines, cannot easily conuey necessaries(the life of an armie) to infest one another : so towards the frontiers of India and Cambaia, prouinces belonging to the Mogors, high mountaines & vast deserts keepe good peace betweene these two princes, Yet infest they one another on the borders of Cabul & Sablestan, of which certaine Lords of the Mogors haue gotten the dominion. He commeth not neere the borders of the great Cham, betweene whom certaine petie princes and impassible deserts doe oppose themselues. It seemeth that towards the Zagatai he standeth content with those bounds which the riuier Oxus hath laid out: for he neuer durst passe it; & when *Zaba* king of the Zagatai had passed it, he was ouerthrowne with a great slaughter by *Ismael*. So againe was *Cyrus* by *Tomiris*, who slew him and all his host. The Turke is a borderer all alongst the westerne coast of this whole empire, euen from the Caspian sea to the gulfes of Saura, a tract almoyst of 15. degrees. He hath no enemie like dangerous to this prince, more to be feared, or of greater power, at whose hands in all conflicts (for the most part) he hath reaped nothing but losse and dishonor. *Mahumet* the second ouerthrew *Vssanchan*, and tooke from *David* (his vassall and confederate) the empire of *Trapezond*. *Selim* the first ouerthrew *Ismael* in Campania, and tooke from him Caramit, Oifa, Merdis and all the territorie which they call Alech. *Solman* put *Tamau* to flight, and tooke from him Babylon and all Mesopotania. In our daies *Amarash* woon whatsoeuer lieth betweene Derbent and Tauris, wherein is comprehended Georgia and Siruan, and by building

ding of fortresses in Teflis, Sumachia, and Eres, assured the paſſages of Chars, Tomanis and Lori. He is Lord of all that lieth betweene Erzirum and Orontes, a riuer three daies iourne beyond Tauris. In this citie he caused a citadell to be buiſt, not minding to leaue it, as did *Selim* and *Soliman*, but thereby as with a curbe to bridle and keepe it for ever. In this warre which lasted from the yeere 1591. to 1597. the Turks altered their forme of warfare. For whereas they were woont to lay their whole hopes vpon their numbers, the valor of their horſemen and footeinen, their ſtore of artillerie, and warlike furniture, ſcoring to be cooped vp in caſtles and fortrefſes, for the moſt part burning whatſoever they became Lords of, and little caring to keepe what they had conquered (luppoſing it no good policie to ſtrengthen townes by weakning their companies) in theſe wars, to auoide the inconueniences whereinto *Selim* and *Soliman* were plunged, were glad to build ſtrong places vpon commodious paſſages, and citadels in the chiefest townes, furniſhing them with good garrifons and great ſtore of artillerie. This warre cost them very deere: for by ſurprises, by famine, and extremitieſ of weather, infinite thousands periſhed, yet alwaies to the loſſe of the Persian or his conſeſſe-rates. In the field the Persian is farre inferior to the Turke in numbers and goodnes of footeinen, in ordinaunce, in all ſorts of warlike furniture, and (the chiefest ſtay of a ſtate) in obedie-nce, of ſubiects. Notwithſtanding if *Selim*, *Soliman* or *Amarath* had not been allured either by rebellion or iſteſtine diſcordeſ, they durſt not haue medled with this warre. *Selim* was caſled into the aide of *Marabeg* the ſonne of *Oſſan*, a moſt mightie prince in Perſia. *Soliman* came in aide of *Elcaſo* the brother of *Tamas*, hateful to his ſoueraigne for his ambition and aſpiring humor, and in the end abuſed the credit and good will of the people towards *Elcaſo*, to the furtherance of his owne deſſigneſ. *A-murath* neuer tooke weapon in hand againſt this people, be-fore he vnderſtood by the letters of *Mustafa* Baſſa of Van, that all Perſia was in vprore about the election of a newe prince, thereby certifying him that ſome had choſen *Ismael*, ſome *Ayner* (both ſonnes of *Tamas*) and that *Periacoona* lay-ing her owne brother *Ismael*, and betraying *Ayner*, had pro- cured

tured the kingdome to *Mabumet Codobanda*. After this mischiefe fell those fatall iars betweene *Codabanda* and his sonne, and betweene the Turcoman nation (a mighty familie in Persia) and the king : a faction no lesse disastrous to the state of Persia then the warre of Turkie.

Against the Portugals of Ormus, for want of sea forces he stirreth not, and againe for want of land forces the Portugals are not able to molest his vpland countries. *Tamas* being counselled to make a voyage against Ormus, asked what commodities the Iland brought forth, whether corne, cattell, fruit, or what other good thing ? When it was answered that the soile was vtterly barren and destitute of all prouision, but excellent well seated for traffike and nauigation : scoffing at the motion, replied, that of this kinde of reueneue he had released vnto his people aboue ninetie thousand Tomana.

The kingdome of Japan.

Iapan may well be called a politike bodie compadfed of many & sundry Ilands of diuers different formes & circumfets, which as they are diuided from the rest of the continent, so are they inhabited by a people much differing in manners & customes from the residue of the Orient. They stand round and close togither like the *Maldine* in the Indian sea, and the *Hebrides* and *Orchades* in the north Ocean. They are in number 66. diuided into three partialities. The first conteineth nine, the second fower, the third fiftie three. Amongst these, five are renowned, but especially one for the famous citie of *Macao*. And it is most commonly seene that they who haue the soueraigntie of those five, are Lords of all the rest. It is distant from new Spaine 150. leagues; from China 60. The soile is to be accounted rather barren then fertile. The inhabitants are of a very readie wit, and marueilous patient in aduersitie. Their new borne children they immediately wash in the riuers, and assoone as they are weaned they take them from their mothers, and bring them vp in labours of hunting and such like exercises. They go bare headed men and women, as well in foule weather as faire. They are very ambitious and

desirous of honor. Pouertie is no disgrace to the Gentrie of their bloud. They will not suffer the least wrong to passe vntreuenged : they salute one another with many curtesies: they are verie staied and of a settled resolution. They are very iealous to shew themselves fearefull or base minded in word or deed: they will make no man priuie of their losses or misfortunes: they haue the like beautes both tame and wilde as we haue; but they will scarcely eate any thing saue herbes, fish, barley or rice, and if they do, it is the flesh of wilde beasts taken by hunting. Of these graines they make their wines, and water mixt with a certaine precious powder which they vse, they account a daintie beueraige : they call it Chia. Their buildings for the most part are of timber, partly because the vpland places are destitute of quarries, but abounding with cedars of admirable height and thicknes fit for building, and partly because the countrey is very subiect to earthquakes. In times past all Japan obeied one prince, shewing him great obedience and subiection, and this government indured with no lesse state and maiestie, at the least 1600. yeeres, vntill about 50. yeeres sithence by the rebellion of two of his chiefeſt lieutenants, the whole kingdome was distracted, each of them holding by armes whatoever he atchiued by vſurpatiōn. By their example others becomming as ambitious, ſeized vpon the rest of the kingdome, ſome on one part, ſome on an other; leauing nothing but the bare name of Dairi, which ſignifieth the Lord of all Japan, with the title of Iucata, viz. king, to their rightfull foueraigne. Yea thoſe princes which were Lords of the territories about Meaco, would hardly allow him wheretoſto find him viſtuall & apparel, ſo that now he reſemblēth the ſhadow rather then the king of the ancient & magniſcent Monarchie of Japan. Sithence thoſe times whosoeuer laieth holdfast on the dominion of the Coquinai (thoſe are the five kingdomes bordering vpon Meaco) in ſteed of Dairi, calleth himſelf Emperour and king of Japan, and Lord of Tenza. Nabunanga was one of them in our daies, and after him Faffia in power and maiestie excelling all his predeceſſors. Nabunanga was Lord of 36. prouinces, Faffib at the leaſt of fiftie.

Their

Their forme of government is nothing like the policie of Europe. The strength of the Prince consisteth not in ordinarie reuenues and loue of the people, but in rigor and the princes pleasure. Assoone as the prince hath conquered one or more kingdomes, he shareth them wholy amongst his friends and followers, who binde themselues by oath faithfully to serue him with a limited company of men as well in peace as warre. They againe to make their followers trustie and readie for all seruices, reseruing some small matter for the sustentation of themselues and their families, divide to euerie man a portion of the former diuision; so that all the wealth of Japan priuate and publike is in the hand of a few men, and those few depending vpon the pleasure of one, that is, the Lord of Tenza. He as him listeth, giueth, taketh, disgraceth, honoreth, inricheth, and impouerisheth. When he casteth any gouernor of his prouince, all the leaders and soldiers of the said prouince are changed, and none left there but artificers and husbandmen. This gouernment draweth with it continuall dislike and innouations. For *Dairy* (though he hath neither power nor government) yet being in fauour & estimation of the people, easeth not to insinuate into their heads, that this Lord of Tenza and the other tyrants, are vsurpers of other mens right, destroyers of the monarchie, and enimies to the state and libertie of Japan. Which perswasions take so deepe roote in the harts of the people, and so extenuate the reputation of these vsurpers, that vnder colour of suppression of others, they often take armes vpon hope to raise their owne greatness: so that by this daily chaunge of gouernors, the people not knowing who are their right and natural Lords, know not whom to loue and obey: and againe, their Lords being as vncertaine of their continuance, care not for the people, nor for the welfare of their own vassals, no more then if they were meer stragers: but alwaies aspiring by the same facility wherby they gained one, to conquer a better, after the manner of gainesters, continually hazard one, vpon hope of winning another: in this sort sometime one alone, sometime many together vexing the landes with perpetuall warfar. *Fassiba* to assure his estate, and disable the great ones from enterprizing against

against him, doth often transport them from one prouince to another, causing them to forgoe their ancient inheritances, and to lead their liues amongst vnknownen neighbours: neither in those places will he suffer them to injoy liuings vnted, but far diuided in pieces and parcels. For all this, they are never at peace amongst themselues, by reason that the frontires of their peticie iurisdictions neighbour so neere one vpon another. In these alterations *Faffiba* constrainyd as well the losers as the winners to doe him homage and obeysance, and once a yeere to pay him a rich tribute, drawing to his owne coffer the greatest part of the wealth of Japan by these tyran-nies. He keepeth his owne people busied in building of admirable palaces, sumptuous temples, townes & fortresles, the like whereof are nowhere to be seene. In these workes he

200000. workes.

hath more then an hundred thousand workmen labouring in their seuerall occupations at their owne charges. Amongst the rest he is now in building a temple, for whose iron workes all the stuffe in Japan will hardly suffice, and therefore he hath giuen commandement to all his people and merchants to bring all their iron and armor into one place.

*2. millions
yearly remoueth*

*2000. vissell
tray portuus*

Besidesthe oath of fealtie whereby the residue of the kings and princes are bound to aide and assist him in peace and warre, he receiueth yeerely two millions arising of the profits of rice reserued vpon his owne possessions. He was determined after the finishing of these fabriks, to attempt a iourney into China, and for that enterprise caused timber sufficient for the building of two thousand vessels for transportation to be felled. By these magnificent fabriks, this haughtie resolution, this large dominion and conquest of forreine kingdomes, he hopeth to attaine the reputation of immortalitie amongst his subiects, as diuers of his predecessors have done before him. For Amida, Xaca, Canis, and Fotoque, were no other then Lords of Japan, which either for their glorie in warre, or inuention of some good arts in peace, were accounted as gods amongst the Iaponians, as in the old world *Hercules* and *Bacchus* were amongst the Gracians, and *Saturne* and *Ianus* amongst the Italians. Of these demi-gods they report as many strange and fabulous inuentions, as the Gracians and Italians

lians did of theirs. But *Fassiba* vnderstanding by the preaching of the Iesuits, that there can be no God but one, who created the heauen and earth of nothing, and all other deities to be foolish and detestable, determined to banish them all, and to weed vp that good vine which began to take deepe roote in those prouinces. Surely this may stand for a memorable example of the pride and blidenesse of mans hart. The Romane Emperors opposed their forces against Christian religion, onely to maintaine and vphold the worship of their idols, condemned for vaine and diuelish by the law of Christianitie: but this man raiseth persecution against true religion, to arrogate to himselfe the name of God, an imagination (as I said before) full of extreme ambition and madnes. But in the midst of these proud and vnreasonable cogitations, God raised vp against him a new enimie from the easterne parts of Japan, who as we vnderstand by aduisoies of the last yeere, is likely to giue him his hands and head full of busines.

1597.

The Xeriffe.

AMONGST all the potentates of Afrike, I do not thinke that there can any one be found to excell this prince, either in wealth or power. His dominion conteineth all that tract of Mauritania, which the Romans called Tingitana, and stretcheth from the promontory Bayador to Tanger, and from the Atlantike Ocean to the riuier Muluia. In which p[ro]gresse is conteined the best portion of all Afrike, the best inhabited, the pleasantest, the fruitlest and most ciuill. Herein amongst others are the famous kingdome of Fez and Marocco, the one diuided into seuen prouinces, the other into eight. The countrey is diuided into plains and mountaines. The mountaines are inhabited with a strong and fierce people, rich in pastures & cattle, & possessing a great part of the lesse and bigger Atlas. Betweene the greater Atlas and the Ocean lieth the plaine countrey, and therein the roiall citie of Marocco distant fowreteene miles from Atlas, watered with many springs, brookes and riuers. In times past this citie contained one hundred thousand housholds, and was the ^{metropole} ¹⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰ chiefest ¹⁰⁰⁰⁰⁰ *Senyord*.

chiefest of Afrike, but by little and little is decayed, and nowe lieth more waste then inhabited. In the kingdome of Marocco besides others is Tedsi, a towne of fve thousand households, and Tagaost of eight thousand. Taradant giueth place to none for noblenes and traffike, though for largenes and circuit. It is situated betweene Atlas and the Ocean in a plaine sixteene miles long, and little lesse broad, abounding with sugar and all kinde of prouision. The good regard and continuall abode which *Mahumet Xeriffe* made in this place, did greatly augment and innoblissh this towne. Being past Atlas you enter into most batle plaines, wherein how fruitlefull the soile is of sugar, olives, cattle and all good things, can hardly be spoken.

The kingdome of Fez likewise conteineth diuers prouinces, excellent well peopled. Amongst them is Alga, a territorie of fowrescore miles long, and sixtie broad: Elabut is 100. miles long, and 60. broad. Eriff is a prouince wholy mountaneous: therein are said to be 23. branches of the mount Atlas, inhabited for the most part with sauage and barbarous people: Caret is drie and rockie, more like Lybia then Barbarie. Now because the glory and maiestie of this kingdome consisteth especially in the citie of Fez, I thinke it not amisse to describe the situation thereof. It is diuided into two parts, a little distant one from the other, the one called the old towne, the other the new. A little riuier likewise diuideth the old into two parts. The east part is called Beleyda, containing fowre thousand households, the west part is commonly called old Fez, and hath fowrescore thousand and vpward, standing not farre from the new Fez, which likewise hath eight thousand. Old Fez standeth partly vpon hils, partly on plaines, and hath in it 50. Mahumetan temples of admirable largenes. All of them haue their fountaines, and pillars of Allabaster and Iasper: besides these, there are sixe hundred of a lesse sort: amongst the which that which is commonly called Carucen is most beautifull, builte in the hart of the citie, and containing halfe a mile in compasse: in bredth it containeth seuenteeene arches, in length 120. borne vp by 2500. white marble pillars: vnder the chiefest arch where the tribunall is kept, hangeth a

most

Fez citias

2

20

Beleyda. hund.

1

Churches
650.

6.

10

15

20

most huge lamp, in compassed with 110. less. Under the other arches hang very great lampes, in each whereof burne 1500. lights. They say in Fes that all these lampes were made of the bels which the Arabians brought out of Spaine, who not onely made pracie of bels, but of columns, pillars, brasie, marble, and whatsoeuer was rich and curious, first erected by the Romans, and afterwards by the Gothes. There are in Fez aboue ^{Fez. 200. Schools.} 200. Schooles of learning, 200. Innes, and 400. water milles, ^{200. Fynes.} every one driven with fower or fve wheeles. There are also ^{400. Watmills.} diuers Colleges, amongst the which, that which is called Madarac is accounted for one of the most finest peeces of workmanship throughout all Barbarie. There are likewise 600. conduits, from whence almost every house is serued with water. It were a long labour to describe their Burse (they call it ^{600. conduits.} *Bursa.*) Alcacer,) it is a place walled about, hauing twelue gates, and diuided into fifteene walkes, where the merchants meete and dispatch their busines vnder tents. Their delightsome gardens, and pleasant parks with the rilllets and waters running through them, I can hardly describe.

For the most part the king keepeth his court at Fes, where in he hath a castle, palaces & houses adorned with rare workmanship, rich and beautifull euen to his harts desire. He hath a way vnder ground from the old towne to the new. For the greatnes and statelines thereof by the grant offormer kings it enioieth this strange priuiledge: not indure any siege, vnlesse the citizens shall thinke their prince for strength and forces able and equal to cope with his enimie: if not, without reproch of treason or ignominie, they may yeld their citie before their enimie approch within halfe a mile of the wals. This haue they done, that so goodly and so flourishing a citie should not suffer spoile vnder pretext of vnproufitable temporizing.

It is of no lesse moment for situation, store of corne, oile, flaxe, and cattle, then for pleasantnes of territorie, and plentie of water. The wals are very strong, and defended with manie bulwarkes. The inhabitants are very thrifte, giuen to trafike, and especially to the making of clothes of wooll, silke and cotton. The kings eldest sonne is called the prince of

Mequiez. Though the kingdome haue no good hauen vpon the Mediterranean sea; yet great store of Englishmen and Frenchmen resort to Alatash, Aguer, and other ports in the Ocean, whereof some belong to the kingdome of Fes, and other to the kingdome of Marocco. They carrie thither armor and other wares of Europe, which they barre for sugar and other commodities.

Now how the kingdomes of Fes and Marocco (two seuerall principalities) with their dependances became subiect to one crowne, I think it worthy relation, because a more strange and memorable accident hath not happened in our age. About the yeere of our Lord 1508. a certayne Alfaique borne in Tigumedet in the prouince of Dara, began to grow in reputation, a man of a reaching wit, and no lesse ambitious then learned in the Mathematicks. His name was *Mahumet Ben-Amet*, otherwise called Xerif by his owne commandement. This man deriving his petegree from *Mahumet*, and imboldened by the ciuill wars of Africke, and the differents of the states and common weales thereof (wherein in those daies the Portugals were of no small puissance) began to dreame vpon the conquest of Mauritania Tingitan. Which the better to effect, he first sent his three sonnes *Abdel*, *Abnet* & *Mahumet* on pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, to visit and worship the sepulchre of their great prophet *Mahumet*. The yoong men returned from this pilgrimage with such opinion and estimation of holines and religion (if it be lawfull to vse these termes to so great impietie and fopperie) that the inhabitants as they trauelled could not be kept from kissing their garments, and adoring them as saints. They againe as men rapt in deep contemplation, iournied through the prouinces sighing and sobbing, and crying with a high voice, *Ala, Ala*. They had no other sustenance but the alines of the people. Their father received them with great ioy and contentment, and perceiving the favour and opinion of the people not to be like a woonder of nine daies, but to continue fresh and the same as at first, resolued to make vse thereof, and thereupon sent two of them *Abnet* and *Mahumet* to Fes to the court. The king received them kindly, and made one of them president of the most famous

mous college of Ainodorac, and the yoonger tutor of his chil-
dren. In processe of time when they perceiued the king to
grace them, and the people to fauour them, by the counsell of
their father (taking occasion of the greeuances which the Ara-
bians and Moores seruing vnder the Portugall ensignes had
done to the professors of their superstition) they desired leaue
of the king to display a banner against the Christians, making
him beleue that they would easily draw the Portugal-Moors
to their partie, and so secure the prouinces of Sus, Hea, Duela-
la, and Maroch. *Muley Nazer* the kings brother resisted this
petition, alledging that if once vnder the shew of holines and
colour of religion, they grewe to a head, it would not after-
wards lie in his power to suppresse or range them vnder his
obedience againe. For war makes men awlesse, victories insol-
ent, popularitie ambitious and studious of innovation. But
the king in whose hart their hypocriticall sanctimonie had ta-
ken a deepe impression, little regarding his brothers counsell,
gave them a banner, a drum, and twentie horsemen to accom-
panie them, with letters of credence to the princes of Arabie
and cities of Barbarie. In these beginnings many things falling
out to their honor and good liking, they began to make incur-
sions into Dencala and the countie of Safi, ranging as farre as
the promontorie Aguer, then vnder the gouernment of the
Portugale: and perceiuing themselues to be faoured, strong
and well followed, vrged the people, (who for the most part
in those daies liued in libertie) to aide those which fought for
their law and religion against the Christians, as likewife with
willing mindes to giue God his tithes, which they obtained of
the people of Dara. Then by little and little they incroched
vpon the territorie of Taradant (of which they made their fa-
ther gouernor) and inuaded Sus, Hia, Dencala, and the neigh-
bouring places. They first seated themselues in Tednest, and
afterward in Tefarot. In their next iournie but with the losse
of their elder brother, they defeated *Lopes Barriga*, a famous
warrior, and captaine generall of the Portugall armie. By faire
and flattering speeches they entred Marocco, poisoned the
king, and proclaimed *Amet Xerif* king of the countrie. After
this happened the warre of the Arabians of Dencala and Xar-
quia

quia with the Arabians of Garbi, where while ech partie weakened other, and either promised to himselfe the fauour and assistance of the Xerifs: they turning their armes vpon both factions, carried rich praiers from both the nations. Before this warre they sent vnto the king the fifth part of all their spoiles: but after this victory little regarding their soueraigne and aduancer, they sent him only sixe horses & sixe camels, & those very leane and ill shapen. Whiche the king disdaining, sent to demand his fifths, as also the tribute which the kings of Marocco were accustomed to pay him: which if they denied, he vowed reuenge with fire & sword. In the meane time the king died, and *Amet* his sonne, once the pupil of the yoonger Xerif, not onely allowed, but also confirmed *Amet* in the kingdome of Marocco, vpon condition that in some things he shoulde acknowledge the king of Fes to be his Lord paramount. To this the Xerifs (whose power & estimation did daily increase) when the day of paiment of the tribute came, willed the messenger to say vnto his master, that they were the lawfull successors of *Mahumer*, and therefore that they were bound to pay tribute to no man, yea that they had more right to Africk then he had: but if he would reckon them in the number of his friends, no doubt but it would turne to his good and honor; but if he diuerted them from the warre of the Christians, they would not leaue him so much as a hart to defend himselfe against them.

The king taking this in ill part proclaimed warre against them, and besieged Marocco, but for that time was constrained to dislodge. Afterwards returning with 18. thousand horsmen and two thou'nd harquebushers to renew the siege; as soone as he had passed the riuier, he was ouercome of the Xeriffes, who led an armie of seuen thousand horse, and one thousand two hundred shot. In the pride of this victorie they exacted tribute of this prouince, & passing Atlas they tooke the famous citie Taflet, and partly by loue, and partly by force compelled divers people of Numidia and the mountaines to beare the yoke of their subiection. In the yeere 1536. the yoonger Xeriffe which called himselfe king of Sus, gathering together a mightie armie with great store of artillerie, part whereof

whereof he tooke from the king of Fes, and part wherof were cast by certain renegado Frenchmen, made a iournie to Cape Aguer. This place is of great consequence, & possessed by the Portugals, who built it and fortified it, first at the expences of *Lopez Sequieru*, and then at the charges of king *Emanuel*, after he vnderstood of the commodious situation thereof. It was fiercely assaulted, and as valiantly defended, vntill the fire began to take hold vpon the bulwarke wherein their prouision of gunpowder was stowed, with which misfortune the companies appointed for the defence of that quarter, growing fearfull and faint-harted, gaue way for the Xeriffe to enter the place, who made slaues of the greatest part of the defendants. After which victorie they subdued almost all *Atlas*, the kingdome of Marocco, and the Arabians which were vassals to the crowne of Portugall: the residue, as *Safi*, *Azamor*, *Arzil*, and *Alcazar* (places situated vpon the sea coast of Mauritania) king *John* the third perceiving the profit not to equalize the charge, voluntarily resigned. Thefe prosperous beginnings brought foorth sower endings: for the brethren falling at discord and dissencion, twice put their fortunes vpon the hazard of a battell, and twice the yoonger ouercame the elder, tooke him, and cast him in prison in the citie *Tafilet*. Then turned he his armes against the king of Fes, tooke him prisoner, and restored him to his libertie: but taking him againe, for breach of couenants, he deprived him and his sonne of life and kingdome. By the valor of his sonnes he tooke the citie of *Tremissen*. But *Sal-Aries* viceroy of *Algier* being iealous of these good fortunes, gathered a puissant host, recovered *Tremissen*, put the Xeriffe to flight, tooke Fes, and bestowed it with the territorie vpon the Lord of *Velez*, who afterward in a battell against the Xeriffe lost both life and kingdome. At last in his iournie to *Taradant* by the subornation of the viceroy of *Algier* he was murdered in his tent by certaine Turks, who with their captaine *Affen* comming to *Taradant*, rifled the kings treasures, but were all slaine (except *hue*) by the inhabitants in their iournie homewards. This came to passe 1557. when *Muley Abdala* the Xeriffes sonne was proclaimed king. Let this suffice for the originall of the Xeriffe: now let vs see how these

these risings were like the fortunes of *Ismael* king of Persia. Both of them in small time conquered many prouinces : both grew great by the ruine of their neighbours : both suffered great crosses by the armes of the Turkes, and to them lost part of their dominions. *Selim* tooke from *Ismael* Caramit, and diuers other cities of Mesopotamia, the viceroy of Algier drove the Xeriffe from Trenissen and the adiacent territorie. *Selim* woon Tauris the chiefe seate of Persia, and then gaue it ouer : *Sal-Aries* tooke Fes the head citie of Mauritania, and left it when he had done.

This potentate is absolute Lord of the bodies and goods of his subiects : whatsoeuer impositions he layeth vpon them, they dare not repine at. For tribute he taketh the tenth, and the first fruits of their fruits and cattell : yet is it most true that for first fruits he taketh not aboue one in twentie, and though it exceede that number, euен to one hundred, yet he neuer taketh aboue two. Of euery acre of land he taketh a ducat and the fift part, and so much of euery houshold and of euery pole male and female aboue 15.yeeres of age, yeerly. If he want, he taketh a greater summe. To make the people more willing to pay what is imposed, he alwaies demandeth more by halfe then is to be paid, that so, by paying their due, they may think they are wel dealt withall, in seeming to be forgiuen somewhat of his full demand. The inhabitants of the mountaines, a people sauage and vnciuill, for the difficult accesse vnto them, he cannot inforce to pay tribute, but thole that manure the plaines he constraineth to give the tenth of their haruest. Besides these reuenues, he taketh tolle and custome of all kindes of merchandize in cities : inward, of a citizen two in the hundred ; of a stranger, ten. His rent of mils is a great matter : for vpon every asse-load of graine grineded in Fes, he taketh halfe a riall : in this towne there are aboue 400. mils. The church of Carruven was indowed with fower score thousand ducats of yeerly reuenue, the colleges and monasteries of Fes with much more ; all which now are escheated into the kings cofers. Moreouer he is heire to all the Judges (which they call *Alcaids*) and hath the bestowing of all their offices. When they die he seileth vpon all their horses, armour, apparell, and all

all their other chattels. If the intellate leaue children behind him fit for the warre, he bestoweth their fathers annuitie vpon them; if they be sons & yoong, he nurseth them till they come to ful yeres; if daughters, he maintaineth them, till they find husbands. To be fingring the wealth of the richer sort, he hath alwaies some office or lieutenantschip with an annuitie to sell them: but commonly to preuent those sales, they will not be ackowne of their abilities, remouing their abodes far from the court and the kings sight, which is the cause that the citie of Fes is much fallen from the ancient splendour.

He hath no castles or peeces well fortified, but only Aguer, Labace, and Tetuan vpon the sea side. His chiefest confidence is in the valour of his soldiery, especially his horsemen, like the Turke and Persian. In this regarde he taketh no great care to furnish himselfe with ordinance, yet hath he great store therof in Fes, Marocco, Taradant, & in the folesaid hauen townes taken from the Portugals and others. As he seeth occasion he causeth new to be cast, for which seruice he can want no workmen out of Europe. In Marocco he hath an Arsenall, wherein he laieth vp monethly at leaft 46. quintals of gunpowder. Here he causeth his harquebushes and bowes to be likewise made. In the yeere 1569. by fire which happened amongst the gunpowder-houses the greatest part of the citie was very much defaced.

His soldiery is of diuers sorts: The first consisteth of 2700. horsemen, and 2000. harquebushers, part lying in garrison in Fes, and part in Morocco, where lieth the court. The second consisteth (as a man may say) of a roiall troupe of sixe thousand horse, all Gentlemen pensioners and of great reputation. These ride vpon braue horses with rich caparisons; their armes and furniture shining with gold, siluer, stones and all things else, which for varietie of colours or rich deuises may delight the eie with gallant shew, or feede the humour of the curious beholder. To these seruitours besides their allowance of corne, prouender, butter and flesh for themselues, their wifes, children and seruants, they receiue yeerely from seventeen to one hundred ounces of siluer. The third sort are a kinde of Timarots: for the *Xeriffe* doth alot a certaine portion

tion of land and tenants to his sonnes, brethren, and men of qualitie amongst the people of Africke and Arabia, for the maintenance of their degrees. Those whom they terme Al-caids, looke to the manuring of the fields, gather the rents of corne, rice, otes, oyle, butter, flesh, poultrie, and money, & di-stribute it monethly amongst the soldiers, to every man according to his place. They likewise give them wollen, linnen, & silke for their garments : armor, and horses for seruice. If their horses chance to be slaine, they giue them new : so did the Romanes to those which serued vpon the horses of the state. The commanders of these troupes are verie carefull to see their soldiers in hart and full of life, excellent well armed, and competently attired. They receiue betweene fower and twentie and thirtie ounces of siluer yeerly. The fourth sort make the Arabians, who commonly liue in tents, diuided by 120. vnder their severall leaders, to be alwaies readie vpon all occasions. They serue on horsebacke, but more like theeuers and outlawes then soldiers. The fift sort is like the presse of the Christian common-weales. These companies consist of citizens, villagois, and mountaine people. Of these men the king maketh no great reckoning, neither doth he willingly arme them for feare of sedition and innouations, vnlesse it be to warre vpon the Christians, wherein he cannot forbid them to serue. For vpon remembrance of the slaughter of the Moores by the Christians spoken of in their Mahometicall legend, the more Christians they slay, the easier they thinke shall be their passage to heauen. Hereupon you shall see herds of men and women running to this warre, desiring there to die vpon hope of meriting saluation by the slaughter of our people. The same furie (be it spoken to our shame) inrageth the Turkes : especially for the propagation of their heresies you shal see them more liker people running to the celebration of a marriage feast, then to a warre-journey, hardly induring to stay the limited time of the rendeuou. They account them Saints which die with their weapons in their hands; and those most vnhappy which depart this world amongst the teares of their children, and the mournings of their wiues.

By this it may sufficiently appeare what forces the Xeriffe

is able to bring to the field, but examples will make it more cleere. *Muley Abdala* beleagred Magazan with two hundred thousand men. He filled the ditch with a mount made of earth, and with his ordinance beat the wall leuell with the ground. But by the prowesse of the Portugall, and furie of their mines, he was inforced to raise his siege and depart. It is certaine, he is not able to hold out any warre aboue three moneths, because the soldier liueth vpon his daily allowance of diet and apparell: and when such like prouisions cannot be conuayed to the place of necessitie, without great labour and hazard, it commeth oftentimes to passe, that for want of prouision the armie is constrainyd to breake and retire. *Molucco* king of Fes, who defeated *Sebastian*, had vnder his standard fortie thousand horsemen, and eight thousand hired footmen; and with the Arabians and other common soldiers it is thought that he is able to leuie seuentie thousand horse, and a far greater number of foote.

Prester John.

SAlthough the soueraigntie of this prince be very magnificent, powerfull and spacious; yet in truth doth it nothing answeare the fame and report of the vulgar. *Horatius Malaguccius* in his discourse *De amplitudine dominiorum huic temporis*, maintaineth it to be larger then the empire of any other potentate, excepting that of the king of Spaine. Truly I must needs say, that in elder age, by the number of his titles, it may be conjectured, that his dominions did stretch farre and wide: for he did intitle himselfe king of Goiam (which is beyond Nilus) Vangue and Damur, places situated beyond the riuier Zair, whereas at this daie he hardly commeth neere the bankes of either riuier: yea *John Baroz*, writeth, that the Abessines by reason of the mountains betweene them & Nilus, haue little or no knowledge of that riuier. In the center of his kingdome is Barcena; eastward it stretcheth from Suaquen to the entrance of the red sea, a tract of 122. leagues, and yet betweene him and that sea lie infinite mountaines inhabited by Moores, doing what ourrages they list vpon that coast. Westward vpon the banks of Nilus lie a

ridge of mountaines, inhabited by Gentiles, who pay him tribute. Towards the north his bounds are to be limited by an imaginarie line to be drawne from Suaquen to the head of the Iland Meroe, conteining the space of 125. leagues; then making a semicircle like a bowe, not too much bended towards the south, as farre as the kingdome of Adea (in whose mountaines the riuier which *Ptolomey* calleth Ratto, ariseth and falleth into the sea about Melind) for the space of 250. leagues, it stretcheth euен to the frontires of the Gentiles: and from thence turning your imaginarie line, and abutting the end in the principalitie of Adel (whose chiefe citie is Acar in the altitude of 9. degrees) you shall finde this Empire to containe in compasse 672. leagues. It is diuided into vast plaines, fertile hillocks, and mountaines though woondrous high, yet fit for tillage, and full of habitation. It is not very well stored with wheate, but it bringeth foorth barley, millet, a certaine other graine holesome & indurable, Indian wheat, and all other kinde of pulse (as well knowne as vnowne to vs) in very plentiful maner. They haue vines, but make no wines, vnles it be in the kings court, or the patriarchs palace, in steed whereof they brew a kind of sharp beuverage made of the fruit of Tamerind. The orange, lemon and, cedar tree grow wilde. They make oile of a certain fruit which they cal Zaua, it is of a good colour, but vnsauorie. The Bees build their hives euен in their houles, whereupon ariseth great quantitie of wax & honny. Their garments are wouen of cotton wool. The richer sort are clothed in sheepe skins, the gentlemen in cases of Lions, Tygres, & Linces. Their riches consist in herds of oxen, goats, sheepe, mules, asses, and camels. Of horses their breed is small, but they haue great store of goodly coursers brought them from Arabia and Egypt. They leaue the foles with the mares not aboue three daies, but put them vnto kine to fucke and reare vp. They haue hens, geese, wilde swine, harts, goats, and hares, but no conies, yea and such beasts, of which we haue not the like, as panthers, lions, elephants, and linces. To speak in a word: there is no countrey vnder heauen fitter for increase of plants and all liuing creatures, but none lesse helpt by arte or industrie; for the inhabitants are idle and vnthriftey.

They

They haue flaxe, but make no cloth, they haue sugar-canes and iron-mines, but know not the vse of either: and as for smiths, they feare them as fiends. They haue riuers and stremes, yet will they not take the paines in drouths to cut the banks to water their tillage or harten their grounds. Few giue themselues to hunting or fishing, which causeth their fieldes to swarne with foule and venison, and their riuers with fish. But it seemeth that the true ground of their idlenes ariseth from their euill vse: for the poore people perceiuing their land-lords to pole and pill them, neuer sowe more then they needs must. They keepe no method in their speeches, and to write a letter, many men (& that many daies) must lay their wits togither. At meales, they vse neither cloth, napkin, nor tables. They are vtterly ignorant in physicke. The Gentlemen, Burgers, and Plebeians dwell apart, yet may any man rise to honour by vertue and prowesse. The first borne is heire to all, even to the vtmost farthing. Through the whole land there is not a towne conteining aboue 1600. houſholds, and but few of that quantitie: for, for the moſt part they dwel dispersed in ſmall villages. They haue no castle or fortification, in imitation of the Spartans, maintaining that a countrey ought to be defended by the ſword, and not by ſtrength of earth or ſtone. They barter one thing for another, and to make reckonings even, they ſupply the want with corne and ſalt. For pepper, frankincenſe, myrrhe and ſalt they giue gold, and that by weight: as for ſiluer it is in little request. The greatest concouſe of people is about the kings court, which neuer ſtaieth long in one place, but is euer in progreſſe, ſome-time in one place, ſome-time in another, and euer in the open fields vnder tents and pavilions. It is ſaid to containe ten miles in circuit.

His gouernment is tyrannicall: for he intreateth his vafſals, rich and poore more liker ſlaues then ſubiects; which to do with the greater ſafety, he carrieth himſelfe amouſt them with a certayne holy and Saintlike adoration: for at his bare name they bow their bodies, and touch the earth with their hands. They reuerence his pavilion, yea though he be abſent. In old time they were accouſomed to ſhew themſelues vnto

the people but once in three yeeres, but sithence they are growen lesse maiesticall, shewing themselves thrice in one yeere, to wit, on Christmas day, on Easter day, & Holy Rood day, yea and in these times *Panufius* which now raigneth is become more gracious. When any matter of weight is committed in the princes name to any man be he never so great, he is to attend his commission stark naked to the middle, neither may he put on his garment without licence. Being called to witnesse a matter in controuersie, they hardly speake truth, vniess they sweare by the life of the king. He giueth and taketh to whom and from whom he pleafeth, neither dare he from whom he taketh, for his life shew a discontented countenance. He presenteth to holy orders, and disposeth at his good pleasure of the goods of the spiritualtie as well as of the laitie. In trauellinge he rideth shadowed with red curtains, high and deep incōfapping him round about. He weareth on his head a crowne, the one halfe wrought of gold, the other of siluer, & in his hand he beareth a siluer crucifix. He couereth his face with a piece of wachet taffata, which more or lesse he liftest vp & putteth downe, according as he is minded to grace him with whom he talketh. Sometime he sheweth his whole leg, lifting it without the hangings, then may no man approch but by degrees, and after many curtesies and diuers messages passing to and fro. No man hath vassals but the king, to whom once a yeere they do homage, and protest obedience as subiects to their liege soueraignes. He deriueth his pedegree from *Mileich* the sonne of *Salomon* and *Saba*. In the raigne of *Candaces* they receiuied the Christian faith: and about that time one *Gafparis* became famous in *Aethiopia*; from whom after thirteene generations discended that *John*, who first tooke vpon him the surname of *Sanctus*, and left it an hereditarie title to his house and successors. This man having no issue of his body, about the time of *Constantine* gaue the kingdome to the eldest sonne of his brother *Caius*, and inuested the yoonger (*Balthasar* and *Melchior*) the one with the kingdome of *Fatigar*, the other with the kingdome of *Goiam*, and so diuided the blood-royall into three families, the *Gafpars*, *Balthasars*, and *Melchiors*. To auoide sedition and innouation, he made a law that the sonnes,

sonnes, brethren, & neerest kinred of the Emperor should be kept and shut vp in the castle of mount Amara, and that they should neither succeed in the Empire, nor enjoy any honorable estate : for which cause the Emperors euer since haue seldom married.

He manureth his owne fields with his owne slaves and catell: who, by reason they are suffered to marrie, and their issues remaine in the same estate of villenage, as doe their fathers ; they daily increase to infinite multitudes. Euerie man that hath any inheritance, doth likewise pay tribute, some horses, some oxen, others gold, cotton wooll, or such like commodities. It is thought that he is Lord of infinite treasures, and to haue storehouses full of cloth, iewels, and gold. In his letters to the king of Portugall, vpon condition that he would wage warre against the Infidels, he offered him a million of gold, and a million of men, with prouision according. He his reported to lay vp yericely in the castle of Amara three millions of gold. And true it is, that before the daies of king *Alexander* he did hoord vp great store of gold in rude and vnwright masses; but no such quantitie, because they knew not how to refine it. His reuenues are of three sorts; the first ariseth of his crowne land : the second of the taxes of his people, who pay euerie man by house somewhat, besides the tenth of all that is digged out of their mines : the third, he leuieth of the great Lords, and they give him the reuenue of any one of their townes (which he will choose) so he choose not that wherein theuclues inhabite. And albeit the Prince be verie rich, yet the people are idle and beggerly ; partly because they are intreated as slaves, which vslage taketh from any people that courage and alacritie of spirit, which should be in men professing armes and vndergoing dangers : and partly because in respect of that base bond of seruile fidelitie, wherewith they are ouerawed to his Maiestic, they perceiue their hands are fast bound ; through feare whereof they haue no other weapon fit for seruice, then a rustie headpeece, a skull or curasse which the Portugals haue brought thither; so that hauing neither fortresse to flie vnto, nor weapons to repulse wrongs, their villages and substance lie alwaies open to the pray and spoile

Spoile of whosoeuer will inuade them. Their offensive weapons are certaine darts and arrowes without feathers. They obserue a Lent of fiftie daies, which by reason of their true (or rather superstitious) abstinence doth bring their bodies so weake and low, that for many daies after they are not able to gather strength to mooue themselues from one place to another. At which time the Moores watching the opportunitie, inuade their dominions, and carrie away men, women and wealth. *Francis Aluarez* writeth, that he is able to bring into the field an hundred thousand men: but experience hath manifested, that euen in his extremities his numbers were far inferior to that reckoning. He hath knights of the Order dedicated to the protection of Saint *Anthonie*. Euerie gentleman father of three sonnes (excepting the eldest) is bound to giue one to the seruice of the king: out of these are chosen twelue thousand horsemen for the guard of his person. Their vow and oath is to defend the bounds of the Empire, and to fight against the enemies of the Christian faith.

He is affronted with three puissant neighbours: the king of Borno, the great Turke, and the king of Adel. The king of Borno is Lord of that countrey, which from *Guangula* eastward stretcheth about fife hundred miles betwene the deserts of *Seth* and *Barca*. In situation it is verie vneuen, sometime mountanous, and sometime plaine, the people indifferently ciuill, the countrey reasonably well inhabited, and in regard of plentie of viuall, somewhat resorted vnto by merchants. Vpon the mountaines dwell neat-herds and shepherds, liuing for the most part vpon millet, leading a beastiall life, without religion, and accompaning with one an others wife in common. They know no other names, then such as are giuen them for some note or marke of their bodie, as blinde, lame, tall, bold, &c. This king is verie puissant in people, of whom he exacteth no other tribute then the tenths of the increase of their livelyhoods. For exercise and instead of occupations they giue themselues to steale, to slay their neighbours, and to take them prisoners, and then to barter them for horses with the merchants of *Barbarie*. He hath vnder him many kingdomes and nations, some white some blacke. He is

an heauie enemie to the Abessines, taking away their cattell, rifing their mines, and leading away the people in captivitie. His horsemen ride after the Spanish manner, armed with lances (stealed at both ends) darts and arrowes: but their inrodes resemble rather robberies and garboiles, then wars managed by valiant soldiers.

The Turke likewise on the east, and the king of Adel on the southeast, do cruelly vexe him: for they haue curtailed his large dominion and brought his prouinces into great miserie. In the yeere 1558. the Turke harried the whole territorie of Bernangasso (but since expulset) and tooke from *Prester John* what soever he was Lord of vpon that sea coast, especially the hauen and citie of Suaquen and Erococo, in which place the mountaines betweene Abex and the red sea, make a gate as it were for the traffique and carriages of the Abessines and Arabians. And sithence that, *Bernangasso* was inforced to submit himselfe to the Turkish commands, to buy his peace, and in name of a tribute to pay one thousand ounces of gold yeerely.

The king of Adel is his no lesse infestious enemie: he bordereth vpon the kingdome of Fatigar: and his siegnorie stretcheth alongst the red sea as far as Aslum, Salir, Meth, Barbora, Pidar and Zeila. Many ships come from Aden and Cambaia to Barbora with merchandise, which they trucke for flesh, honie, wax and vittail: these commodities are carried to Aden; gold, iuorie, and such wares are sent to Cambaia: the greatest part of vittail, honie, wax, corne and fruits brought from Zeila, are carried into Aden and Arabia, as likewise much cattell, especially sheepe hauing tailes of 25. pound weight, with heads and necks all blacke, the rest of their bodies all white. Of these cattell there are some altogether white, with turning crooked tailes as long as a mans arme, and dewlaps like oxen. Some of their kine haue hornes with many branches like our deere: othersome haue one horne in their forehead growing backward a span and halfe long. The chiefe citie of this kingdome is Arar 38. leagues distant from Zeila towardes the southeast. He professeth Mahumetisme, and since his conuersion he hath intituled himselfe with the firname of Holy, auowing continual war against the Abessine Christians: and therefore

fore he watcheth the time of the foresaid fast of fiftie daies, when he entreth their territories, burneth their villages, taketh prisoners, and then committeth a thousand other mischiefs.

The Abessine slaues doe often leaue their countrie, and take vpon them great iournies, putting themselues in the seruice of great Lords, where many times by their industrie and good carriage they become high commaunders in Arabia, Cambaia, Bengala and Sumatra. For the Mahumetan princes being all tyrants & Lords of those countries, which they haue forced from the Gentils, to secure their estates doe never truſt their home-bred ſubiects, but wage ſtrangers and ſlaues, vnto whose fidelitie they commit their perſons and the managing of ali the affaires of their kingdomes. And amongſt all ſorts of ſlaues, the Abeline is in greatest eſteeme for his faithfullnes and towardly diſpoſition. The king of Adel ouerlaith Egypt and Arabia with theſe ſlaues, which hee changeth with the Turks and princes of Arabie, for armour, prouifion of warre and ſoldiers. In the yeere of our Lord 1500. *Claudius* king of Abex perceiuing himſelfe inferior to *Grad-Amada* king of Adel (for he had vexed his land with 14. yeeres incursions) forſaking the frontires, retired himſelfe into the inward parts of his kingdome, intreating for aide of *Stephen Gama* viceroy of India vnder *John* the third king of Portugall, who was then in the red ſea with a warlike nauie. In compassion of his miseries and religion, he ſent him fower hundred Portugall-shot very well furnished vnder the conduct of *Christopher* his brother. By their aide and vſe of their artillerie he ouerthrew his enemies in two battels: but the king of Adel obtaining of the gouernor of the citie of Zebit one thouſand harquebushers, and ten pieces of ordinaunce, in the third fight put the Portugals to flight, and ſlew their captaine. Afterwards when *Adel* had ſent away theſe Turkes, king *Claudius* ſet vpon him at vna-wares by the riuere Zeila and the mountaine Sana with eight thouſand footemen, five hundred Abeline horſe-men, and the remainder of the liuing Portugals, one of whome gaue *Grad-Amada* his deaths wound. But in March 1509. *Claudius* fighting with the Moores of Malaca, gaining the victorie, was ſlaine

Gentiles.

slaine in the battel. *Adam* his brother succeeded, against whom being a demi-Mahumetan, the greatest part of the Abessine nobilitie rebelled, and was ouerthrowne in the yeere 1562, by *Bernagasso*. By this casuallie did the *Aethiopian* affaires ebbe & flow, vntill in the raigne of *Alexander* things began in some sort to returne to their ancient estate by the aide of the Portugals, who furnished them with weapons both offensive and defensive, and by their examples encouraged them to be stout and courageous against their enemies. All that were living after the defeature of *Christopher Gama*, and all that euer went thither since that day to this, doe still remaine there, marrying wiues and begetting children. King *Alexander* gaue them leaue to elect a Iusticer, and to end all matters of controuersie amongst them selues, which maketh them so willing to stay and to teach them the vse of their weapons, the manner of our warfare, and how to fortifie passages and places of importance. Sithence those times (*Francis Medices* contraicting friendship with the Abessine) diuers Florentines, some for pleasure and some for profit, haue trauelled into those prouinces, wherein when they are once entred, the king intreateth them so faire, and giueth them so largely whereupon to liue, that they can hardly obtaine licence to returne againe into their owne countries.

Besides these, he hath other enemies, as the king of Dancali, whose citie and hauen is Vela vpon the red sea, and the Moores of Doba, a prouince diuided into foureteene Lieutenantships. These people though they are accounted within the limits of the Abessine Empire, yet doe they often rebell, hauing a law amongst them selues, that no yoong man may contract matrimonie, vnlesse he can bring good proofe that he hath slaine twelve Christians.

Monomotapa.

not to many, 66
of the prints
gathered. 42. of which **I**N the residue of *Aethiop* raigne diuers powerfull princes, as the kings of Adel, Monomugi, Monomotapa, *Angola*, and *Congo*, of which as yet we understand very little. But that the Reader by the description of one, may conjecture of

the rest, I wil speake somwhat of the state & policie of Monomotapa, because it is mightier and more famous then the rest. This kingdome containeth all that Iland which lieth between the riuers of Cuama and Spirito Santo (a territorie of 150. leagues in compasse) and from Spirito Santo it stretcheth even to the Cape of Good Hope : for the Vizeroys of that huge tract do acknowledge him for their soueraigne and supreme gouernour : of townes & villages they haue few, those cottages which they haue consist of timber and thatch. One of their chiefe cities is called Zimbas , and other Benemataxa, the one fiftene miles, the other 21. distant from Cefala towards the west. The soile aboundeth with corne & with cattle great and small , wandring by heards through the fields and woods. By the store of teeth from thence transported, we may 5000. Elephants & conjecture that lesse then 5000. elephants cannot but die yearly in this countrey. These beautes are here very great. There is no climate like it for plentie of gold : for by report there are 3000. mines, whereout gold is digged : gold is likewise found in the earth, in rocks and riuers. The mines of Manica, Boro, Quiticui, and Toroe (which some men call Butua) are the richest. The people are meane of stature, black, & wel set. They conuerse with the king kneeling on their knees, and to sit in his presence, is the vse with them, as with vs to stand, and that is granted but to great lords. The assay of meate and drinke is not made before, but after the prince hath eate and drunke. Heere are no prisons, because law passeth vpon the offendour in the very moment wherein the offence was committed. The offences most severallie punished are witchcraft, theft, and adulterie. They pay no other tribute but certaine daies worke, and presents, without the which no man may appeare in the princes presence. The king beareth in his coat of armes a certaine little spade, with an Iuorie handle, and two small darts. He keepeth for his faithfuller guard two hundred dogs. He keepeth the heires of his vassall princes to be secured of their parents loyaltie. One of the kings not long sithence was conuerted and Baptized by Gonfalus Silua a Iesuite, with the greater part of his courtiers, but afterwards (by the perwaison of certaine Moores in great credite about him)

5000. Elephants &
in ayre
plenty of gold

No prisons

178 King Monomotapa

200. dogs to guard

Baptized.

him) he caused him to be slaine. *Sebastian* king of Portugall offendid heereat, proclaimed warre against him vnder the leading of *Francisco Barreto*. This armie consisted of sixteene hundred, the greatest part gentlemen, to whom the Monomotapa fearing their armes and valour, offered honorable conditions, but the captaine (whom no offer or indifferencie could satisfie) was ouercome, and his armie vtterlie consumed, yet not by the enimie, but by sicknes and the infectious aire of the countrey.

F I N I S.

Faults escaped.

Page 17.lin.30.for lanciers,read men at armes.

Page 20.lin.38.for defensible,r.defeasible.

Page 24.lin.22.for supremacie,r.soueraigntie.

Page 28.lin.penult.these words, without relation to the kingly
authoritie,are superfluous.

Page 65.lin.30.for it might,r.he might.

Page 65.lin.34.for he is immediate,r.immediate,he is

Page.127.lin.24.for can be wanting,r.can not be wanting.

